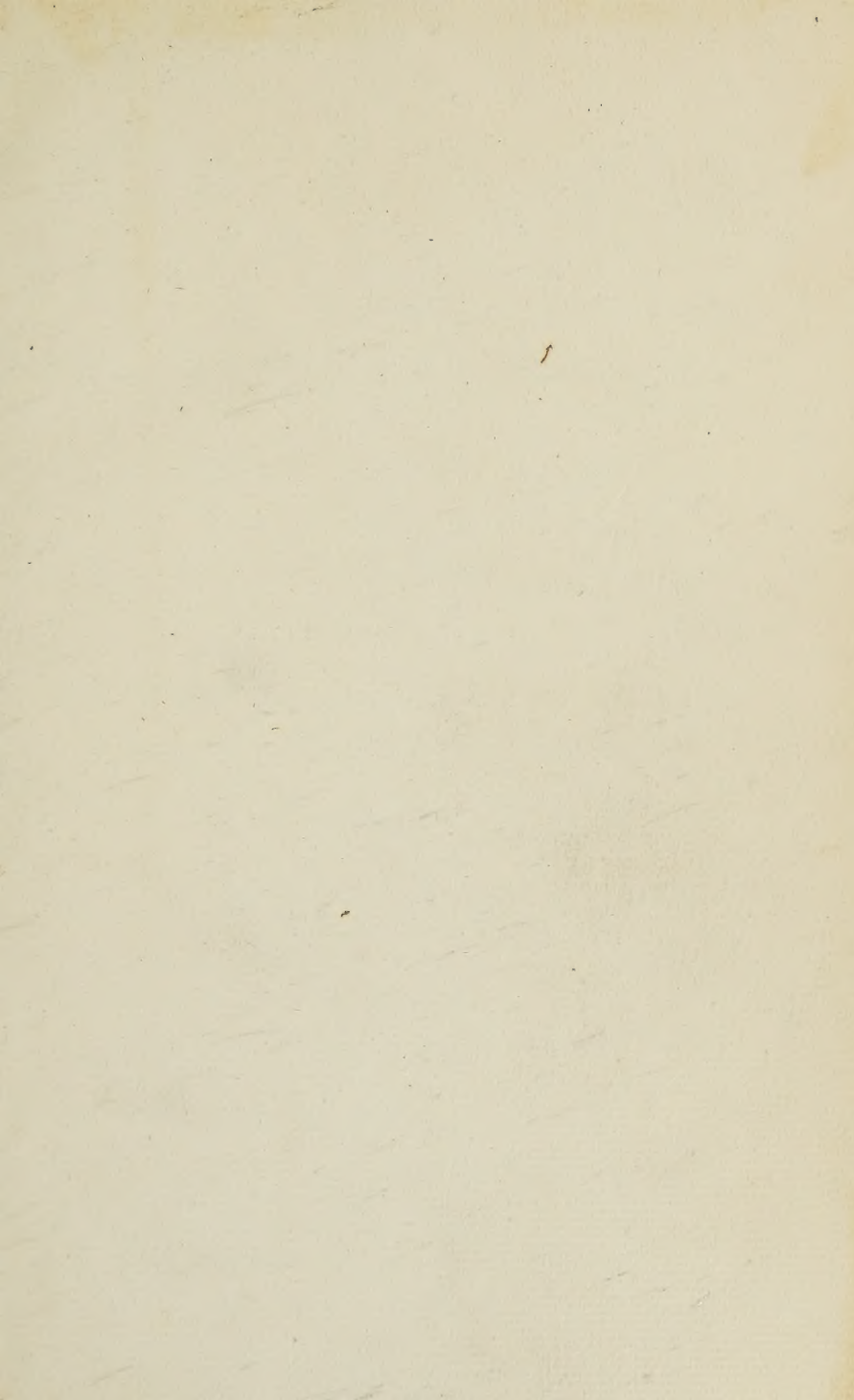








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T H E
E S S A Y S

O F

Michael Seigneur de Montaigne,

Translated into ENGLISH.

T H E E I G H T H E D I T I O N,

With very considerable

AMENDMENTS and IMPROVEMENTS,

From the most accurate and elegant French Edition of

P E T E R C O S T E.

I N T H R E E V O L U M E S.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N,

Printed for J. POTE, E. BALLARD, C. BATHURST, T. DAVIES,
T. PAYNE, J. F. and C. RIVINGTON, S. CROWDER,
T. LONGMAN, B. LAW, T. CASLON, J. ROBSON,
W. GINGER, T. EVANS, and E. JOHNSTON.

MDCCLXXVI.

ESSAYS

Michael Seignior de Montaigne

Translated into ENGLISH

THE EIGHTH EDITION

With very considerable

AMENDMENTS and IMPROVEMENTS

From the most accurate and elegant French Edition of

PETER COSTE

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I.

L O N D O N,

Printed by J. W. T. E. B. L. A. D. C. B. A. T. H. U. R. S. T. T. D. A. V. I. S.
T. P. A. Y. N. E. J. H. and C. R. I. N. G. T. O. N. S. C. R. O. W. D. E. N.
T. J. O. H. N. S. O. N. B. L. A. W. T. C. A. S. T. O. N. J. R. O. S. S. O. N.
W. G. I. N. G. E. R. T. E. V. A. N. S. and E. J. O. H. N. S. O. N.

MDCCXXII

THE P R E F A C E

T O T H E

Seventh English Edition of MONTAIGNE's ESSAYS.

THE first English version of these Essays was published in the year 1603, by Mr. Florio *, but they were much better translated in the reign of king Charles II. by Charles Cotton, esq. (famous for his witty poetry on the Wonders of the Peak,) and George Savil marquis of Halifax, then lord privy-seal, and afterwards president of the council, to whom that translation was dedicated, honoured it with his special approbation, by the following letter to the translator, at his house at Berisford, in Derbyshire.

“ S I R,

“ I have too long delayed my thanks to you for giving
“ me such an obliging evidence of your remembrance :
“ That alone would have been a welcome present ; but
“ when joined with the book in the world I am best en-
“ tertained with, it raiseth a strong desire in me to be bet-
“ ter known, where I am sure to be so much pleased. I

* This gentleman, whose ancestors were the Florii of Sienna in Tuscany, was for some time a teacher at Magdalen College, in the University of Oxford ; and, after king James I. came to the crown, was appointed tutor to prince Henry, in the Italian and French tongues ; and compiled a Dictionary, Italian and English, which was first printed at London, in 1597. Having lived to a good old age, he died at Fulham, of the plague, in 1625.

MR FREEMAN 11/30

T H E P R E F A C E.

“ have until now, thought wit could not be translated, and
 “ do still retain so much of that opinion, that I believe it
 “ impossible, except by one whose genius cometh up to
 “ that of the author. You have the original strength of
 “ his thought, that it almost tempts a man to believe the
 “ transmigration of souls, and that his being used to hills,
 “ is come into the moor-lands, to reward us here in Eng-
 “ land, for doing him more right than his country will af-
 “ ford him. He hath by your means mended his first
 “ edition. To transplant and make him ours, is not only
 “ a valuable acquisition to us, but a just censure of the
 “ the critical impertinence of those French scribblers, who
 “ have taken pains to make little cavils and exceptions to
 “ lessen the reputation of this great man, whom nature
 “ hath made too big to confine him to the exactness of a
 “ studied style. He let his mind have its full flight, and
 “ sheweth, by a generous kind of negligence, that he did
 “ not write for praise, but to give the world a true picture
 “ of himself, and of mankind. He scorned affected pe-
 “ riods, or to please the mistaken reader with an empty
 “ chime of words. He hath no affection to set himself out,
 “ and dependeth wholly upon the natural force of what is
 “ his own, and the excellent application of what he bor-
 “ roweth.

“ You see, sir, I have kindness enough for Monsieur de
 “ Montaigne to be your rival; but nobody can now pre-
 “ tend to be in equal competition with you: I do willingly
 “ yield it is no small matter for a man, to do to a more
 “ prosperous lover; and if you will repay this piece of jus-
 “ tice with another, pray believe, that he who can trans-
 “ late such an author without doing him wrong, must not
 “ only make me glad, but proud of being his

“ Very humble Servant,

“ HALLIFAX.”

THE PREFACE.

To the commendation of Montaigne, and his ingenious translator, by so great a man, it will be needless to add more ; but it may be presumed the reader will here expect to be satisfied, wherein this is so much preferable to any of the former Editions in English.

Mr. Cotton indeed succeeded to a miracle in his translation of so celebrated a piece : and we are thoroughly persuaded that very few Frenchmen, except perhaps some natives of Guienne, were they to undertake the task, would find themselves capable of turning Montaigne's Essays into modern French, with the same spirit, and the same justice to the author ; but yet our translator was far from infallible. He had certainly one of the most difficult books in the world to struggle with, as he complained himself in his Preface, when he says, “ the language of his original, was in many “ places so ungrammatical and abstruse, that though “ he understood French as well as any man, he “ had sometimes been forced to grope for his “ meaning.” It is no wonder then that his translation was often mistaken in the true sense of the author, any more than that the style of it should, after more than seventy years, appear in many places uncouth and obsolete. Indeed the latter was polished or rather modernized in some pages of our last edition, but in the present one, it is corrected and improved throughout, besides the rectifying of many mistakes, which Mr. Cotton probably would not have been guilty of, had he been assisted by those dictionaries published since his time, that are the best explainers of the Gas-

THE PREFACE.

con language, which was Montaigne's mother-tongue.

This new edition will, it is presumed, be received by the public, with the more favour, not only because the editor had those helps so necessary for explaining the author's true meaning, but because it is translated from that accurate French edition of these Essays, in 1724, by PETER COSTE, who formerly translated many of Mr. LOCKE's excellent tracts with applause, into the French language, and was therefore encouraged in executing the said edition of MONTAIGNE's Essays, by the subscription of many of our chief nobility and gentry.

After submitting our best efforts for doing it justice, to the candour of the public, we refer them to what Mr. Coste himself has said, of the preference of his to all the other French editions.

P R E F A C E

O F

P E T E R D E C O S T E,

T O H I S

FRENCH Edition of MONTAIGNE's ESSAYS.

ALL men of good sense have long been agreed as to the merit of MONTAIGNE's ESSAYS. For my own part, I do not pretend to make a formal harangue in their praise, nor to enter into a discussion of the criticisms that have been passed upon them : for as to their merit, I can add nothing to what has been already said of it by others ; and am persuaded, that such as shall read the work, with any application, will be easily convinced of the weakness of most of those criticisms.

But there is one thing upon which I cannot help making some reflections, before I shew the advantages of this edition above those which have been published hitherto ; and that is the noble candour Montaigne has demonstrated throughout the whole book, and from which he has not once departed.

Montaigne has been very much censured for having made himself so much the subject of his book : but this objection has been refuted a thousand times, and I have heard it very often repeated in company, where I could easily perceive, that they who made it were not very well acquainted with Montaigne's manner of painting himself, in

PREFACE of PETER DE COSTE,

this book. He has done it with so much sincerity, that there is all the reason in the world, to believe that he engaged in so difficult an undertaking, not so much out of vanity, as to communicate instruction. It is, however, certain, that the picture he has here drawn of himself, is in the nature of a faithful mirror, wherein all men may discover some of their own features, if they will but take the trouble to view themselves in it attentively, and with an honest design to see what they are in reality. And to good purpose will it be; for in this world, a man must be very careful to inspect himself, or by living at random, be incessantly exposed to the derision of other men, and be a prey to his own foibles, always in uneasiness and confusion, and always repining at evils, of which he will neither know the cause, nor the proper remedy. "If," as * Montaigne says, very well upon this occasion, "the world complains, that "I speak too much of myself, I complain that they do not "so much as think of themselves." Would men but try to imitate Montaigne's freedom, and paint themselves in their genuine colours, they will soon perceive the undertaking not to be so blameable, as it is difficult to execute.

The generality of mankind are so blinded by a false complaisance to themselves, and by an unjustifiable kind of shame, that, far from being able to unmask themselves to the public, with that amiable sincerity which appears in Montaigne, they have not even the courage to pry into the secret recesses of their own hearts, in order to make a private discovery to themselves of their own foibles, levities, and the true motives of their actions. That undoubtedly is the reason why, of so many writers who have appeared in print since Montaigne, and of whom most have been but faint imitators, (a tribe which has ever been the most nu-

* Book iii. chap. ii.

to his FRENCH Edition of MONTAIGNE's Essays.

merous in the republic of letters) there has not appeared one who attempted to walk in his steps.

This is so remarkable, that the duke of Buckingham, marquis of Normanby, &c. famous for a nice discernment, and a judgment which was never suspected of being clouded by an idle complaisance, or ill grounded prejudices, took occasion from hence to pass a noble compliment upon Montaigne. For, after having mentioned Cicero and lord chancellor Bacon, as two excellent genuises, whose conduct was so inconsistent with the wise maxims which adorned their writings, he says that those two celebrated authors would have done much more service to the public, if they had given it a candid and particular account of the true causes of that contradiction. "But," *he adds, "we must never expect so much sincerity in any writer, except the incomparable Montaigne, who is like to stand alone to all posterity. I know very well," continues the duke of Buckingham, "that Montaigne is charged with vanity, but in my opinion without reason—And supposing it true that he has not been altogether exempt from it, never did any person take so right a method to disguise it;" for as all his vanity was to publish his foibles and imperfections as freely as his good qualities, it was a vanity of a very particular species, and perhaps would deserve another name.

Montaigne speaks of his book, with the same frankness as he does of himself.

Besides the quotations with which he has enriched it, he confesses ingenuously that he has concealed the names of many celebrated authors, whose reasons and comparisons he has transplanted into his work, purposely to awe those rash

* Vol. ii. p. 266, of the Works of John Sheffield duke of Buckingham.

PREFACE of PETER DE COSTE,

censurers, who no sooner see a new book come out, but they set about criticising it; moreover, so far was he from a thought of appropriating the sentiments of another writer to himself, that he says †, “ he should love any one that “ could by a clear judgment strip him of his borrowed feathers.” For my own part, I have not taken a great deal of pains, to trace those foreign thoughts, yet I have discovered a good number of them, in each volume, though more by chance, or by memory, than by that sort of discernment, which Montaigne requires in those who should undertake to divest him of his plumage.

He tells us with the same frankness ‡, that he aspires “ every where to rise to an equality with his thefts, and to “ go the same pace with them,” but he adds, “ it is as “ much owing to his application, as his invention.” Indeed his book abounds with passages taken from the best authors, which he has made his own, by cloathing them in a dress quite new, and often more delicate and splendid than what they wear in the original. Was I to particularise all these ingenious applications of his, I should write a volume instead of a Preface. One single instance, taken from the 21st chapter of the first book, will be sufficient to excite the curiosity of such readers, as have a taste for inquiries of this nature. Almost all the sentiments of that chapter, are inserted verbatim from Seneca; and by the application which Montaigne makes of them, they appear to be plain observations of the common customs of life, which in short take in all human nature.

But from the very quotations with which Montaigne has enriched his book, some have taken occasion to impeach his sincerity, which to dispossess him of, would be entirely to

† Vol. ii. of Montaigne's Essays, chap. x. Of Books.

‡ Vol. i. chap. xxv. Of the Education of Children.

deface his character. "How comes it," say they, "that Montaigne who has filled his book with such a number of quotations, complains so often and so bitterly of the weakness of his memory? From what a source has he drawn so many scraps of history, and all those beautiful passages of which he has made such singular applications? Was it not his memory that furnished him with the names of so many philosophers, their instructive maxims which he quotes at every turn, those long details which he gives of their sentiments, on the nicest questions of natural and moral philosophy, on the nature of the Divine Being, and of the essence and immortality of the soul?"

In answer to this objection without entering into particulars, which would carry us too far, it may be observed in the first place, that for want of memory, Montaigne has sometimes fallen into very gross errors, as where he mistook * Crates, for Socrates †; one Dionysius, for Diogenes the Cynic; Heraclides ‡ Ponticus, for Pythagoras; and § where he makes Thales say the very contrary to what he said, as he sometimes did Plutarch § his most intimate friend, whose works he always had in his hands, and from whom he was inseparable, even at the time he was inclined "to be without the company ¶ and the remembrance of "every other book."

In the second place, it is not owing to memory, nor was it in the heat of composition, that Montaigne embellished his book with all the quotations that now appear in it: he inserted them for the most part at his leisure, and as he met with them in the books that came in his way. To be convinced of this one need only run over the first edi-

* Lib. iii. cap. 13.
¶ Lib. iii. cap. 3.

† Lib. i. cap. 24.
§ Lib. ii. cap. 12, and 37.

‡ Lib. i. cap. 25.
¶ Lib. iii. cap. 5.

PREFACE of PETER DE COSTE,

tions of the *Essays*, wherein there are but few quotations in chapters which were afterwards full charged with them. For instance, in the 12th chapter of the 2d Volume, for three pages together there is a great display of the sentiments of all the most celebrated philosophers of antiquity, concerning the nature of God; but there is not a single word of it in the first edition of the *Essays* printed at Bourdeaux in 1580, nor in that at Paris in 1588. And in the edition which I have now put out, it will appear to every reader, that Montaigne met with all those sentiments very exactly explained in Cicero, from whence it was very easy for him, without any effort of the memory, to transplant them into his book.

Here I cannot avoid taking notice of a censure which Montaigne has very frankly passed upon himself, and as to which nobody has ever once thought fit to contradict him; and that is what he says in his 3d volume, of his loose and incoherent way of writing, or as he calls it himself, by leaps and skips*.

This defect is not absolutely owing, as has been always believed, to the particular genius of Montaigne, which unaccountably drew him from one subject to another, so that he was not capable of giving more order and connection to his own thoughts; but to the many additions which he made here and there to his book, as often as it came to be reprinted. If we only compare the first editions of the *Essays* with those that followed, it is obvious that those frequent additions, have very much perplexed and confounded such arguments as were originally very clear, and very well connected. Montaigne's style, such as it appears in the first editions, and such as it stands in the latter editions, after having been corrupted by those additions, might be com-

* Vol. iii. chap. 9.

pared to a pearl necklace, with whose pearls, though at first all perfectly round, and of an equal size, others should be mixed afterwards altogether as round, but much larger, which at the same time that they enhanced the price of the necklace, would deprive it of great part of its beauty. The case is the same with most of the thoughts which Montaigne has inserted, from time to time, in his book. One would be sorry to lose them, though, by the manner of ingrafting them in it, they disfigure it in many places. Because Montaigne himself could, without any difficulty, perceive the chain of his first thoughts, notwithstanding all his insertions that broke the connection, he imagined that a reader of any attention would discern them as well as he did. But in some parts of his work, the traces of that connection are so faint and obscure, that it cannot be perceived without consulting the most ancient editions. Of this there is a very remarkable instance in the notes of Vol. III. Book 9, and many others, of which a more particular discussion would be very disagreeable in this place, and carry me to an excessive length.

What remains for me, is briefly to demonstrate the advantages of this edition, above all those that have been published hitherto.

Of all the old editions of the Essays, the only authentic one is that published by Angelier at Paris * in 1595, from a copy that was found after the Author's decease, as we are positively assured in the title-page, and "that had been revised and augmented, one third more than the former editions." This is the very edition from which I have caused mine to be printed, without making any other use of those that have appeared since, than merely to correct the faults of the press. The latter editions, indeed, have had

* With the extracts of the king's licence at Paris, Oct. 15, 1594.

PREFACE of PETER DE COSTE,

Montaigne's book is crouded with passages out of the best authors, which he often diverted from their original sense, that he might thereby be enabled to express his own thoughts with more beauty and spirit, the artfulness and agreeableness of those applications could only be discovered by examining those very passages at the fountain-head. But who would trouble himself to go in search after two or three verses of a hemeftic of Lucretius or Catullus, a few periods of Seneca or of Cicero, a passage of Sallust, or of Titus Livy, unless it was plainly pointed out to him where he might be sure to find them ?

2. A faithful translation of the Greek, Latin, and Italian passages quoted by Montaigne, was altogether as necessary. Mademoiselle de Gournay also undertook this task ; but on a close examination of her performance, I soon perceived that it would be easier for me to make an entire new translation, than to amend that of Mademoiselle Gournay, besides that the confounding of my French with that lady's, would form a very ridiculous medley. Here I must intreat our book-critics to remember, that Montaigne having put a sense quite new upon several passages, which I have rendered into French, I was therefore obliged to transplant Montaigne's ideas into my translation, without considering whether it agreed or not with the sentiments of the authors whose expressions Montaigne borrowed.

3. A very particular advantage which this edition will have beyond all the former editions, is the verification of a great number of sentiments, turns of wit, and historical facts with which Montaigne has adorned his book, without naming the authors from whence he had them. In the first place, I took notice of some that presented themselves as it were of their own accord, and afterwards I made it my business to note down as many as I could possibly discover

cover. By degrees this examen produced a very ample kind of criticism upon Montaigne; for by searching into the authorities which he had recourse to, I discovered many errors that he committed, either because he did not rightly understand the authors he copied, or for want of due retention of their opinions. And to the end that his exactness might be the more visible, as well as his mistakes, (which in the main are not so numerous nor so gross, but there are quite as many, and almost of the same kind too, in the most celebrated writers, the Salmasius's, Grotius's ‡, &c.) I have at the bottom of the pages, quoted the very words of the authors in passages of any importance, without translating them, when they only say what Montaigne has since said in French; but wherever they are contradictory to what Montaigne has said, I give an exact translation, on purpose to make such contradiction apparent.

4. This edition is also augmented with a little commentary, which consists in a short paraphrase on those passages of Montaigne whose sense does not occur easily to the mind, and in an explanation of all antiquated words, which are now grown obsolete. But our virtuosos will say, was it worth while to spend time on a thing of so little importance? I know that all this must be reckoned a trifle, by men who have such a clear and well grounded knowledge of books as they have. But these gentlemen ought to consider, that as they are the more respected in the world, because they are few in number, a book only calculated for them, would be of no great use to the rest of mankind.

I have left out of this edition what appears in many others, with the title of "The Life of Montaigne;" an in-

‡ See Mr. Barbeyrac's Preface of his excellent translation of "De Jure Belli & Pacis," p. 22, 23. and I know not how many more of his commentaries on that work.

PREFACE of PETER de COSTE, &c.

insipid and incomplete abstract of what Montaigne has said of himself in his Essays, and couched in his very words, but by their being detached from the occasion which produced them, they lose all their spirit and beauty.

To supply this omission I have added, at the end of the third volume, some letters from Montaigne, of which the last is prefixed to the Natural Theology of Raymond Sebonde, translated into French by Montaigne: and the others are taken from a little book which is very scarce, consisting of some posthumous pieces of Stephen de la Bœtia, which Montaigne put to the press, in 1571, about nine years before the first edition of his Essays. This book was first shewed to me by the honourable Mr. Stanley, who was so very obliging as to put it into my hands, with leave to make any extract of it that might answer my purpose. The letter wherein Montaigne relates the most remarkable particulars of the sickness and death of his intimate friend Stephen de la Bœtia, is sufficient to demonstrate, that, when he had a mind to take pains, he could write in a style very coherent and regular: but in the other letters there appears that free natural air which is suitable to Montaigne's common way of writing, and to his genius.

To conclude, it will not be improper, in my opinion to take notice that Montaigne was born in 1533, that he lived in the reigns of Francis I. Henry II. Francis II. Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. and that he died in 1592, on the 13th of September, aged 59 years, 6 months, and 11 days.

A

VINDICATION

O F

MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYS.

THESE Essays, or rather Miscellanies, because they are on various subjects, though they have not so much order and connection as others, yet people of all ranks, extol them above all others whatsoever. In many other Miscellanies, both ancient and modern, they complain of an unnecessary heap of quotations, whereas in this they are delighted to find authorities quite pertinent to the purpose, intermixed with the author's own thoughts; which being bold and extraordinary, are very effectual to cure men of their weakness and vanity, and induce them to a lawful pursuit of virtue and felicity. But because every body is not of this opinion, we will take notice here of what is said for and against these Essays; and this is the more necessary, because one has frequent occasions to talk of this author, his book being universally read, and having been often quoted, and referred to by the writers of the Spectator, and others of the first class.

The enemies of Montaigne tell us, that his book is so far from inspiring his readers with the love of virtue, that, on the contrary, the free and licentious words in

some of his discourses teach them some vices of which they were ignorant, or else are the occasion that they take a pleasure in speaking of them, if not in committing them : that his discourses upon several effects of nature are rather fit to divert men's thoughts from the true religion, than to convince them of it, and are altogether unbecoming a christian philosopher : that his propositions and assertions, are, for the most part, very dangerous for several persons, who either want learning, or have too great a bias for libertinism : that, besides an indifferent knowledge of practical morals, and of history, which Montaigne had acquired in reading Seneca and Plutarch, having conversed with few other books, as he owns himself, he had hardly a tincture of other sciences and arts, even not of the theory of moral philosophy : that he was as ignorant in other parts of philosophy, as physics, metaphysics, and logic ; that he understood very little of what we call humanity, or the belles lettres : that he was a very ill grammarian, and a bad rhetorician ; and that, as he talks positively, and boldly, Scaliger, used to style him “ a bold ignorant.” These angry gentlemen likewise pretend, that if his quotations from ancient authors, and the little stories he tells us about his own temper and inclinations were taken out of his book, the rest would amount to little or nothing.

Having thus impartially related the most material objections urged against Montaigne, we proceed now to mention what is said in his vindication. And we might here, in the first place, make use of the long preface mademoiselle de Gournay has prefixed to the French folio edition of his *Essays*, 1635, wherein she does not only
give

give a full answer to all objections against Montaigne, but also talks of him as of a man whose works have revived truth in his age, and which therefore she calls "the quintessence of philosophy, the hellebore of man's folly, the fetter at liberty of the understanding, and the judicial throne of reason." But we do not think fit to insist upon her evidence; for, notwithstanding the solid arguments her opinion is grounded upon, she may be suspected to be blindfolded with the passionate love she had for her adopted father: and besides, we have so many great men to produce in favour of Montaigne, that we may without, any prejudice to his cause, wave the evidence of that lady. These will tell you, that if he has handled any matters with an uncommon freedom, it is owing to his generous temper, which abhorred any base compliance; and, as to his love for virtue, and his religion, they appeal to his book itself, wherein this will appear evident, if the passages alleged to prove the contrary, are examined without partiality, and not separately by themselves, but according to the connection they have with what precedes or follows.

Stephen Pasquier, that sincere writer, who deals more fairly with Montaigne than any of his opposers, for he does not conceal his faults, nor pass by what may be said to extenuate or excuse them. "Montaigne, says he, in one of his letters, has several chapters, whereof the body is no ways answerable to the head; witness the following, The History of Spurina; Of the Resemblance of Children to their Parents; Of the Verses of Virgil; Of Coaches; Of Lame People; Of Va-

“ nity, and Physiognomy. In these the author inco-
 “ herently rambles from one subject to another, with-
 “ out any order or connection. But after all, we must
 “ take of Montaigne what is good, and not stick to the
 “ titles of his chapters, but look into his discourses,
 “ for possibly he designed to laugh at himself, at others,
 “ and at human capacity, by thus slighting the rules
 “ and servile laws of authors.”

I shall add on this point, that though several of his discourses do contain quite different things from what is promised in the titles, as Pasquier has observed, yet it does not always happen so ; and when he has done it, methinks, it is rather through affectation than inadvertency, to shew that he did not intend to make a regular work. This likewise appears by the odd, or rather fantastical medley of his discourses, wherein from one subject he makes long digressions upon several others. No doubt, but he thought that he might take the same liberty in his meditations, as is assumed in common conversations, in which, though there be but two or three interlocutors, it is observed that there is such a variety, in their discourses, that if they were set down in writing, it would appear that by digressions they are run away from their first subject, and that the last part of their conversation is very little consistent with the first. This I verily believe was his true intention, that he might present the world with a free and original work ; for none of his adversaries will be able to convince the world, that this proceeded from want of judgment in a man of such parts as they are obliged to own in Montaigne.

He

He aimed also, sometimes, to conceal his design by his titles ; as for instance, in his third book, when having spent almost a whole chapter against physicians, it is most likely that his view was to conceal his real intentions by intitling the same, "Of the Resemblance of Children to their Parents." For this gave him an opportunity to tell us, that he was afflicted with the gravel as his father was, and to discourse of the cure of several distempers, and at the same time of the uncertainty of physic, or rather of the ignorance of physicians ; from whence I conclude, that, in this whole chapter, and several others, there is rather a refined art, than ignorance.

It is somewhat surprising that Montaigne should be blamed for quoting ancient writers, when his quotations are made purely to confirm or illustrate what he says, seeing Plutarch and several other excellent authors have taken the same liberty ; and if it be objected, that the quotations in Plutarch are taken from Greek authors, and consequently are in the same language as his, whereas Montaigne has stuffed his French book with Greek, Latin, and Italian verses ; I answer, that this is trifling ; for if Montaigne found nothing in his own language worthy of being cited, or else if he thought that ancient or foreign writers had better treated the matter he speaks of, pray by what law is he forbidden to make use of their authority ? I own, that in some places, he has translated passages of ancient authors into French, and so dexterously incorporated them into his work, that he has in a manner made them his own ; but where is the great crime in this, especially seeing

he has a world of thoughts of his own, which are more sublime and excellent than what he has alledged from others ?

Balzac, in his XIX. Entretien, reflects upon his diction, though at the same time he excuses it. “ He lived, says he, in the reign of the family of Valois, and was a Gascon by birth, and therefore it is impossible but his language must have something of the vice common to his age and country. However, we must own that his was an eloquent soul, that he expressed his thoughts in nervous, masculine expressions, and that his style had some beauties above what we could have expected from the age he lived in. I will say no more on this head ; and I know that it would be a sort of a miracle, that a person could write or speak French politely, in the barbarism of Quercy and Perigord, where his wife, relations, and friends, are so many enemies to the purity of the French tongue. The court style then was likewise as corrupt as that of the country, there being, at that time, no settled rules for our language ; and those faults, which are more ancient than the laws themselves, must be deemed innocent. I conclude, says he in another place, that I have a great veneration for him, and that, in my opinion, he is comparable to those ancients whom we call *Maximos ingenio, arte rudes, &c.*” And, in another, he compares him to a wandering guide who brings his travellers to more agreeable tracks than he promised.

What Balzac says, in relation to the court of France in the days of Montaigne, is true enough, and very
much

much to the purpose ; but observe here the vanity and malice of that hypercritic in reflecting upon Montaigne's country ; as if it were impossible that any body born in Perigord or Quercy, should write French politely. I own Balzac has written more elegantly than Montaigne, and that the French tongue is much indebted to him ; but he whose excellency consisted chiefly in the connection or disposition of words, must not, for all that, pretend to set up for a judge of the thoughts of Montaigne, as he rashly ventured upon in his XVIII. and XIX. Entretiens.

It true, Montaigne has some provincial expressions, but they are few ; and it is to be observed, that several words of his which were at first excepted against, have been since adopted by the best writers, it being the privilege of great authors, to introduce new words. The French word *enjoué* (merry) has not been always in use, though it is now in the mouths of all the learned and polite people, and Montaigne was the first author that I know of, who made use of it ; and so they are obliged to him for this word, which does not only signify a merry man, but one who carries the very effects of mirth in his face, and chiefly upon his cheek (*joué*.)

They who tell us that Scaliger used to call him a bold ignorant, do certainly a greater injury to Scaliger than to Montaigne ; for the reputation of the former, great as it is, will never so far bias mankind, as to make them believe, that the author of a book, wherein there is so much learning, should be an ignorant. Scaliger was a better judge both of men and books, and as this
is

is not to be found in any one of his works, I think one may venture to say, that this calumny was contrived by some of Montaigne's envious enemies, who having not capacity enough to encounter him, made use of this artifice to run down his merit with that great name.

Monfieur de Plaffac, a great admirer of Montaigne, converted his chapter of the Vanity of Words into modern French; but, as he owns it himself, it was no more Montaigne's, whose similies and proverbial expressions have greater energy, than the nice politeness of the modern French language; and, besides, Montaigne's discourse is every where full of sentences and solid reason, which do not always admit that smooth but empty way of writing, so much in vogue in France.

As for the rest, there is hardly any human book extant, so fit as this to teach men what they are, and lead them insensibly to a reasonable observation of the most secret springs of their actions; and, as cardinal Perron said, it ought to be the manual of all gentlemen, especially as his uncommon way of teaching, wins people to the practice of virtue, as much as other books fright them from it, by being dogmatical and imperious.

Thus we have answered all the material objections made against Montaigne; for I think the other trifles which are objected against him, do not deserve to be taken notice of, and I wonder that the author of the Search after Truth, should spend his time upon them, in a manner so unbecoming his character. He tells us,
after

after Balzac and some others, that Montaigne's vanity and pride were not suitable to an author and philosopher ; that it was ridiculous and needless for him to keep a page, who had hardly 6000 livres a year, and more ridiculous still to have so often mentioned it in his writings : but I may answer, that it was very common in his time for gentlemen of honourable extraction, to keep a page, in order to denote their quality, though their estate could hardly afford them to keep a footman ; and that the 6000 livres a year, were more then, than 20000 now-a-days. It was likewise very much unbecoming the gravity of our famous Searcher after Truth, to rail at Montaigne because he kept a clerk when he was counsellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux ; for Montaigne having exercised that noble employment but for a short time, in his youth, he had no occasion to mention it ; and who will believe that he concealed it out of vanity ; he who, in the opinion of Malebranche himself, talks of his own imperfections and vices with too great a freedom ? It is likewise very ungenerous and ungentleman-like to take notice, that he did not very well succeed in his mayoralty of Bourdeaux ; for the times he lived in were very troublesome, and supposing he committed some error, which they say without any proof, what is that to the merit of his book ? Balzac introduces a gentleman speaking thus to an admirer of Montaigne. “ You may prize your
“ author, if you will, more than our Cicero, but I
“ cannot fancy that a man who governed all the world,
“ was not at least equal to a person who did not know
“ how to govern Bourdeaux.” This may very well pass for a jest ; but is it a rational way of confuting an author, to have recourse to personal reflections, or to
some

some incidents relating to his private person or quality ? This is so mean, that I cannot fancy Balzac could be guilty of it ; and I wholly impute it to those who published after his death, some loose discourses on several subjects, which they have intitled his *Entretiens*.

Notwithstanding these objections, Montaigne always had and is like to have admirers, as long as sense and reason have any credit in the world. Justus Lipsius calls him the French Thales, and Mezeray the christian Seneca ; and the incomparable Thuanus made an eulogy on him, which being very short, I shall transcribe it here.

“ Michael de Montaigne, chevalier, was born Perigord, at a seat which had the name of his family. He was made counsellor in the parliament of Bourdeaux with Stephen de la Boetie, with whom he contracted so great a friendship, that that * dear friend of his, was even after his death, the object of his respect and veneration. Montaigne was extraordinary free and sincere, as posterity will see by his *Essays* ; for so he has entitled that immortal monument of his genius.

“ While he was at Venice, he was elected mayor of Bourdeaux, which place was bestowed only upon persons of the first quality, and even the governors of the province thought it was an honour for them.

* Montaigne therefore always called him his brother, as he called Mademoiselle de Gournay, his daughter, upon the same principle. Vide the note, p. 210. of this vol.

MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYS.

“ The mareschal de Matignon, who commanded the
“ king’s forces in that province, during the troubles
“ of the state, had such an esteem for him, that he
“ communicated the most important affairs to him,
“ and admitted him into his council. As I had a cor-
“ respondence with him while I was in his country,
“ and since at court, the conformity of our studies
“ and inclinations, united us most intimately. He
“ died at Montaigne in the 60th year of his age.”

This testimony of Thuanus is sufficient to justify the memory of our author, for no-body will believe that a man of that integrity, would have been so great a friend with so vicious a man, as Montaigne has been represented by some who envied him. I shall therefore conclude this discourse with a very remarkable circumstance, mentioned by Thuanus in his own life, lib. iii. which shews that Montaigne was beloved by the greatest princes in his time, and honoured with their confidence.

“ While the states of the kingdom, says he, were sitting at Blois, Montaigne and I were discoursing of
“ the division between the king of Navarre, and the
“ duke of Guise; whereupon he told me, that he
“ knew the most secret thoughts of both those princes,
“ as having been employed to compose their differences; and that he was persuaded, that neither of
“ them was of the religion he professed. That the
“ king of Navarre would have willingly embraced the
“ religion of his predecessors, if he had not feared that
“ his party would abandon him; and that the duke of
“ Guise would have declared himself for the confession of Augsburg, which the cardinal of Lorrain
“ his

MONTAIGNE'S PREFACE.

fections, and my native form; as far as a respect to the public has permitted me. And if I had dwelt in those nations which are said to live still under the sweet liberty of the primitive laws of nature, I assure thee, I should gladly have drawn my own Portrait at full Length, and quite naked. Thus Reader, I am myself the subject of my own book; a subject too vain and frivolous to take up even thy spare time.

Montaigne,
June 12, 1580.

Adieu therefore.

CONTENTS.

Chap.	Page
I. <i>THAT Men arrive at the same End by different Means</i>	I
II. <i>Of Sorrow</i>	6
III. <i>That our Affections are extended beyond our Existence</i>	II
IV. <i>How the Soul discharges its Passions upon false Objects, when the true are wanting</i>	20
V. <i>Whether the Governor of a Place besieged, ought himself to go out to parley</i>	24
VI. <i>The Time of Parleys dangerous</i>	27
VII. <i>That our Actions are to be judged by the Intention</i>	30
VIII. <i>Of Idleness</i>	32
IX. <i>Of Liars</i>	34
X. <i>Of Readiness or Slowness in Speech</i>	40
XI. <i>Of Prognostications</i>	43
XII. <i>Of Constancy</i>	49
XIII. <i>Of the Ceremony at the Interview of Princes</i>	52
XIV. <i>That the obstinate Defence of a Place, not in Reason to be defended, deserves to be punished</i>	54
XV. <i>Of the Punishment of Cowardice</i>	55
XVI. <i>A Passage of some Ambassadors</i>	57
XVII. <i>Of Fear</i>	62
XVIII. <i>That we are not to judge of Man's Happiness before his Death</i>	65
XIX. <i>That he who studies Philosophy, learns to die</i>	69
XX. <i>Of the Power of Imagination</i>	91
XXI. <i>One Man's Profit another's Loss</i>	105
XXII. <i>Of Custom and the Difficulty of changing a Law once received</i>	106
XXIII. <i>Different Events from the same Counsel</i>	128
XXIV. <i>Of Pedantry</i>	140
XXV. <i>Of the Education of Children</i>	156

C O N T E N T S.

Chap.	Page
XXVI. <i>The Folly of measuring Truth and Error, by the standard of our Capacity</i>	201
XXVII. <i>Of Friendship</i>	207
XXVIII. <i>A Letter to Madame de Grammont Countess of Guissen, with twenty-nine Sonnets</i>	224
XXIX. <i>Of Moderation</i>	225
XXX. <i>Of Cannibals</i>	233
XXXI. <i>That Men must not be too hasty in judging of the Divine Decrees</i>	250
XXXII. <i>To avoid Pleasures even at the Expence of Life</i>	253
XXXIII. <i>Fortune often met with in the Train of Reason</i>	255
XXXIV. <i>Of one Defect in our Government</i>	259
XXXV. <i>Of the Custom of wearing Cloaths</i>	260
XXXVI. <i>Of Cato the Younger</i>	265
XXXVII. <i>That we laugh and cry for the same Thing</i>	270
XXXVIII. <i>Of Solitude</i>	274
XXXIX. <i>An Observation concerning Cicero</i>	289
XL. <i>That the Relish of Good and Evil depends on the Opi- nion we have of either</i>	296
XLI. <i>One Man's Honour not to be communicated to another</i>	322
XLII. <i>Of the Inequality amongst us</i>	326
XLIII. <i>Of Sumptuary Laws</i>	339
XLIV. <i>Of Sleep</i>	342
XLV. <i>Of the Battle of Dreux</i>	345
XLVI. <i>Of Names</i>	346
XLVII. <i>Of the Uncertainty of our Judgment</i>	354
XLVIII. <i>Of the War-Horses, called Destriers</i>	362
XLIX. <i>Of ancient Customs</i>	373
L. <i>Of Democritus and Heraclitus</i>	380
LI. <i>Of the Vanity of Words</i>	384
LII. <i>Of the Parsimony of the Ancients</i>	388
LIII. <i>Of a Saying of Cæsar</i>	389
LIV. <i>Of vain Subtilties</i>	391
LV. <i>Of Smells</i>	396
LVI. <i>Of Prayers</i>	399
LVII. <i>Of Age</i>	411

ESSAYS

O F

MICHAEL Seigneur de MONTAIGNE.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

That Men arrive at the same End by different Means.

WHEN we find, that persons whom we have offended have revenge in their own hands, Persons offended are mollified by submission. and that we absolutely lie at their mercy, the most usual way of appeasing their indignation, is to move them to pity by submission : yet bravery, constancy, and resolution, which are qualities the very reverse, have sometimes produced the same effect.

Edward the Black Prince of * Wales, (the same who so long governed our province of Guienne) a personage remarkably great both by his rank and fortune, having been highly incensed by the Limosins, and taken their city by storm, was not to be restrained from prosecuting his revenge, by the cries of the people, and of the women and children abandoned to slaughter, and calling for mercy, till penetrating farther into the town, he

And sometimes by a firm perseverance.

* Son to Edward III. king of England, and father of the unfortunate Richard II.

took notice of three French gentlemen *, who, with incredible bravery, stood it out alone against his victorious army. His admiration of such transcendent valour, soon blunted the edge of his fury; so that after having given quarter to these three gentlemen, he extended his clemency to all the surviving inhabitants of the city. Scanderbeg, prince of Epirus, pursuing one of his soldiers, with a resolution to kill him; the soldier, after having in vain tried, by all the humility and supplication possible, to appease him, resolved to face about, and expect him sword in hand; which behaviour gave a sudden check to his commander's fury, who, seeing him assume so gallant a resolution, admitted him to favour. An example, however, liable to another construction, by such as never heard of the prodigious strength and valour of that prince.

Enmity suppressed, or rather banished, by pity. The emperor Conrad III. having besieged † Guelf duke of Bavaria, would not be prevailed upon, whatever mean

and unmanly concessions were offered to him, to condescend to more favourable terms, than that the women, who were besieged with the duke, might go out, without violation of their honour, on foot, and with so much only as they could carry. Such was the heroism of the sex, that they carried out their husbands and children, and even the duke himself, upon their shoulders.

True conjugal love. At this sight the emperor was so charmed with their ingenuity, as well as courage, that he wept for joy, quite extinguished the bitterness of the mortal hatred he had

* Froissart says, they were John de Villemur, Hugh de la Roche, and Roger de Beaufort, son to the count de Beaufort, officers of the city; who, when they saw the trouble and plague that was come upon themselves and their people, said, "We shall all die, if we do not defend ourselves; but we will sell our lives dear, as all gentlemen ought to do." And these three Frenchmen gave several instances of their valour. The prince, coming that way in his chariot, looked upon them with admiration, and relented very much at the sight of them. Froissart, vol. i. c. 289. p. 368.

† In 1140, in Winiberg, a town of Upper Bavaria.

conceived against the duke ; and from that time forward he treated him and his with friendship.

Both these ways could easily bias me ; for I am wonderfully compassionate, and tender-hearted : yet, I fancy, I should be sooner moved by pity, than by esteem. Nevertheless, compassion is reputed a vice among the Stoics, who consent, that we relieve the afflicted, but not that we should be so affected with their sufferings, as to sympathize with them. I thought these examples the more pertinent, because therein we observe, those souls assaulted and tried by these two different means, resist the one without being shocked, and yet bend under the other. It may be said, that to suffer the heart to be totally subdued by compassion, is the effect of an easy, debonnaire, effeminate disposition ; whence it comes to pass, that the weak reason of women, children, and the vulgar, is the most subject to it : but for a man to despise sighs and tears, and surrender his resentment purely to a veneration for the sacred image of virtue, this must be owing to a great and inflexible spirit, which loves and honours courage that is manly and obstinate.

Pity reputed a vice by the Stoics.

Yet astonishment and admiration may in less generous minds produce a like effect. Witness the people of Thebes, who having put two of their generals upon trial for their lives, because they had continued in arms beyond the prescribed terms of their commission, very hardly acquitted Pelopidas, who sunk under the heavy charge, and produced no other arguments to save himself, than prayers and supplications ; whereas, on the contrary, * Epaminondas, magnifying the exploits he had performed, and reproaching the people in a haughty arrogant manner, they had not the courage so much as to proceed to a ballot, but broke up the court, the whole assembly highly commending the noble spirit of this great man.

The Thebans disarmed by the resolute spirit of Epaminondas.

* Plutarch, in his treatise, wherein he considers how far a man may praise himself, ch. 5.

The obstinate
barbarity of
old Dionysius,
the tyrant of
Syracuse.

Dionysius the elder having, by a tedious and very difficult siege, taken the city of Reggio, and in it the governor Phyton, that great and good man, who had so obstinately defended it, was resolved to make him a tragical example of his revenge*; in order whereunto, he first of all told him, that he had the day before caused his son, and all his kindred, to be drowned: to which Phyton returned no other answer, but, "that they were then happier than himself by one day." After this, causing him to be stripped, and delivered into the hands of the executioners, they not only dragged him through the streets of the city, and most ignominiously and cruelly whipped him, but also vilified him with most bitter and contumelious language. Yet still his courage did not once fail him; but, on the contrary, with a strong voice, and undaunted countenance, he put the people in mind of the glorious cause of his death; namely, that he would not deliver up his country into the hands of a tyrant; and at the same time he threatened him with speedy chastisement from the gods. Dionysius, reading in the looks of his soldiers, that, instead of being incensed at the bravadoes of this vanquished enemy, in contempt of him their general, and of his triumph, they not only seemed mollified with admiration of such uncommon virtue, but ready as it were to mutiny, and even to rescue Phyton out of his officers hands, he put an end to his torments, by sending him afterwards privately to be thrown into the sea.

Man a variable
animal.

To say the truth, MAN is a subject wonderfully vain, fickle, and unstable, of whom it is not easy to frame any certain and uniform judgment. For instance, Pompey pardoned the whole city of the Mamertines, though he was very much enraged against it, from pure regard to the virtue and magnanimity of one citizen, Zeno†, who took

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xiv. c. 29.

† Plutarch, in "his instructions to those who manage state affairs," ch. 17. calls this citizen by the name of Sthenon. In the notable sayings

took the fault of the public upon himself alone, and desired no other favour than to suffer all the punishment due to it.

Yet Alexander, the most courageous of mankind, who was so gracious to the vanquished, having, after many great difficulties, taken the city of Gaza, and finding Batis, who commanded there, and of whose valour, during the siege, he had seen wonderful proofs, quite alone, abandoned by all his soldiers, his armour hacked and hewed to pieces, his body covered all over with blood and wounds, still fighting with a number of Macedonians, who attacked him on all sides, he said to him, being nettled at a victory so dear bought, (for, besides other damage, he had received two fresh wounds) * “Thou shalt not die, Batis, the death thou chusest, but shalt assuredly suffer all the kinds of torments that can be inflicted on a captive.” Batis returning no answer to these menaces, but only a fierce disdainful frown, “What! (said Alexander, observing his surly silence) is he too stiff to bend a knee? Is he too proud to utter one supplication? I will most certainly conquer this silence; and if I cannot force a word from his lips, I will at least extort a groan from his heart.” His anger then swelling into rage, he commanded his heels to be bored through, and caused him to be dragged, mangled, and dismembered alive, at the tail of a cart. Was the height of courage so natural and familiar to this conqueror, that, rather than admire it, he the less esteemed it? Or, did he conceive it to be a virtue so peculiar to himself, that his pride could not, without envy, endure to see it in another? Or,

ferred to lay down his life for his fellow-citizens.

Alexander the Great's cruelty to a valiant enemy.

sayings of the ancient kings, princes, and generals, where Plutarch has related the same story under the article Pompey, this brave citizen is called Stennius. But in the life of Pompey, ch. 3, the same Plutarch tells us, that Pompey treated all the towns of Sicily with humanity, except that of the Mamertines; and that, having likewise resolved to chastise that of the Himerians, his fury was disarmed by the generosity of Sthenis, one of the governors of the town, who took the whole blame of the public upon himself.

* Q. Curtius, lib. iv. c. 6.

was the natural impetuosity of his wrath incapable of any check? Certainly, had it been possible for any thing to curb it, it is to be believed, it must have been at the sacking and desolation of Thebes, to see so many valiant men ruined, and totally defenceless, cruelly butchered by the sword; for there were full 6000 killed, of whom * not one turned his back, or cried out for quarter; but, on the contrary, every one ran about through the streets, striving to provoke the victors to put them to an honourable death. There was not one who did not, to his last gasp, still endeavour to revenge himself, and, with the weapons of despair, to seek comfort in his own death, by the death of some enemy. Yet did their afflicted virtue create no pity, nor was one day long enough to glut the conqueror's vengeance; for the slaughter continued till not a drop of blood remained to be shed, except that of helpless persons, old men, women, and children, of whom 30,000 were carried into slavery.

C H A P. II.

Of Sorrow.

A contempt-
ible passion.

N O man living is more free from this passion than I am, who neither like it in myself, nor admire it in others; yet the world is pleased to honour it as it were in the lump with a particular favour, and to make it the ornament of wisdom, virtue, and conscience. A silly mean dress! The Italians have more properly given the name to furliness which is meant by their word *tristezza*; it being a quality always malignant, always foolish; and, as it is always cowardly and mean, the Stoics would not allow their wise men to be sen-

Its effects.

¶ Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xvii. ch. 4.

sible of it. Nevertheless we read in history*, that Psammenitus, king of Egypt, being defeated and taken prisoner by Cambyfes, king of Persia, seeing his daughter pass by him in the habit of a servant sent to draw water, though his friends about him burst into tears and lamentations, yet he himself remained unmoved, without uttering a word, and with his eyes fixed on the ground: and that seeing, likewise, his son immediately after led to execution, he still maintained the same composure of countenance, till spying one of his domestics dragged away amongst the captives, he smote his forehead, and mourned sadly. Similar to this, is the story of a late prince of our own nation, who being at Trent, and having news brought him of the death of his elder brother, but a brother on whom depended the whole support and honour of his house; and hearing soon after of the death of a younger brother, the second hope of his family, he withstood both these strokes with an exemplary magnanimity; but one of his servants happening, a few days after, to die, he suffered his constancy to be overcome by this last event, and losing his courage, so abandoned himself to sorrow and mourning, that some from thence concluded he was only pierced to the quick by this last shock; but the truth is, that being before brimfull of grief, the least addition overflowed the bounds of his patience. The same might also be judged of the former example, did not history proceed to tell us, that Cambyfes asking Psammenitus †, “Why he was so unconcerned at the misfortune of his son and daughter, and so impatient at the death of his friend? It is (answered he) because this last affliction was only to be discovered by tears, the two first exceeding all manner of expression.”

Something like this might, perhaps, be working in the fancy of the painter of old, who being in the sacrifice of Iphigenia ‡, to represent the sorrow of the by-standers propor-

Extreme sorrow is unutterable.

* Herodotus, lib. iii. p. 187, 188. Ed. Steph. anno 1592.

† Herod. lib. iii. pl. 188.

‡ Val. Max. lib. viii. c. 11. in externis, § 6.

tionably to the degrees in which they were variously affected by the death of this innocent fair, and having in the other figures exerted the utmost power of his art, he drew that of the virgin's father with a veil over his face, meaning thereby, that no kind of countenance was capable of expressing such a degree of sorrow as his was. This is the reason why the poets feign the unfortunate mother, Niobe, after having first lost six sons, and successively as many daughters, to be quite stupified with grief, and at last petrified.

———*Diriguiffe malis* *,

———whom grief alone,

Had power to stiffen into stone :

thereby to express that melancholic, dumb, and deaf stupidity which benumbs all our faculties, when oppressed with accidents, which we are not able to support under : and, indeed, the operation of grief, if it be excessive, must so overwhelm the soul, as to deprive it of the liberty of its functions ; as happens to every one of us, who upon the first alarm of very ill news, find ourselves surpris'd, stupified, and in a manner deprived of all power of motion ; so that the soul, by giving vent to sighs and tears, seems to disintangle itself, and obtain more room, and freedom.

Et via vix tandem voci laxata dolore est †.

And when, by struggling, grief is almost spent,
'Tis eas'd at length, by giving words some vent.

Grief the cause
of sudden
death.

In the war which king Ferdinand made upon the dowager of king John of Hungary, a man in armour was particularly taken notice of by every one for his extraordinary gallantry in a certain encounter near Buda, and, being unknown, was highly commended, and as much lamented when left dead upon the spot, but by none so much as by Raicsiac, a German nobleman, who was charmed with such unparalleled valour. The body be-

* Ov. Met. lib. vi. fab. 4.

† Æneid. lib. xi. ver. 151.

ing brought off the field of battle, and the count, with the common curiosity, going to view it, the armour of the deceased was no sooner taken off, but he knew him to be his own son. 'This encreased the compassion of all the spectators; only the count, without uttering one word, or changing his countenance, stood like a stock, with his eyes fixed on the corpse, till the vehemency of sorrow having overwhelmed his vital spirits, he sunk stone dead to the ground.

The lovers, who would represent an unsupportable passion, say,

*Chi puo dir com' egli arde, è in picciol fuoco *!*

The man who can his ardent love declare,
Has of that passion but a scanty share.

——*Misero quod omnes*

Eripit sensus mihi : nam simul te,

Lesbia, aspexi, nihil est super mi

Quod loquar amens ;

Lingua sed torpet, tenues sub artus

Flamma dimanat ; sonitu suopte

Tinniant aures, gemina teguntur

Lumina nocte †.

'Thou, Lesbia, robb'd my soul of rest,
And rais'd those tumults in my breast :
For while I gaz'd in transports tost,
My breath was gone, my voice was lost.
My bosom glow'd ; the subtle flame
Ran quick thro' all my vital frame :
O'er my dim eyes a darkness hung,
My ears with hollow murmurs rung.

It appears from hence, that in the height and greatest fury of the fit, we are not in a condition to pour out our complaints, or to use persuasion, the soul being at that time oppressed with profound thought, and the body dejected and languishing with desire ; and thence it is that sometimes proceed those accidental impotencies

* Petrarch, fol. 70. di Gab. Giolito at Venice, 1745.

† Cat. Epig. 49.

which so unseasonably surprise the passionate lover, and that frigidity which, by the force of an immoderate ardour, seizes him, even in the very lap of fruition: for all passions that suffer themselves to be relished and digested, are but moderate,

Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent.*

Light griefs are plaintive, but the great are dumb.

Other effects of Grief. Sudden and unexpected joy likewise produces the same effect.

*Ut me conspexit venientem, et Troïa circum
Arma amens vidit, magnis exterrita monstribus,
Diriguit visu in medio, calor ossa reliquit,
Labitur, et longo vix tandem tempore fatur†.*

Soon as she saw me coming, and beheld
The Trojan ensigns waving in the field,
She was astonish'd at th' unlook'd for sight,
And like a statue, lost all feeling quite.
Life's gentle heat did her stiff limbs forsake,
She swoon'd; at length with faultring tongue she
spake.

‡ Besides the examples of the Roman lady who died for joy to see her son safe returned from the battle of Cannæ, and of Sophocles, and Dionysius the tyrant ||, who also both died of joy, and of Talva §, who died

* Seneca Hippol. Act. ii. Scene 3.

† Virg. Æneid lib. iii. ver. 306, &c.

‡ Pliny, Nat. Hist. lib. vii. v. 54. Titus Livy relates an accident, much like this, which happened after the battle of Thrasimene, lib. xxii. cap. 7.

|| Pliny asserts positively, that the joy of having won the prize in tragedy, put an end to the days of Sophocles and old Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily; see his Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 53. But, as to Dionysius, if we may believe Diodorus Siculus, the joy that possessed him, on his winning the prize in tragedy, ran him into such extravagancies as were the true cause of his death. 'He was so overjoyed at the news, says the historian, that he made a great sacrifice upon it to the Gods; prepared sumptuous feasts, to which he invited all his friends, and therein drank so excessively, that it threw him into a very bad distemper.' Lib. xv. cap. 20. of Amyot's translation.

§ In Valer. Maximus, lib. ix. in Romanis, § 3. where he is called M. Juventius Thalma; Pliny, who only says, that he died in making his sacrifice, calls him, M. Juventius Talva, lib. vii. cap. 53.

in Corfica at reading the news of the honours which the Roman senate had decreed for him, we have one in our time, viz. Pope Leo X. who, upon the news of the taking of Milan, a thing he had set his heart upon, was so overjoyed, that he immediately fell into a fever, and died*. As a more remarkable testimony of the weakness of human nature, it is recorded, that Diodorus the logician died upon the † spot, from excessive shame, not being able, in his own school, and in the presence of a great auditory, to resolve a quibbling question, which was pronounced to him by Stilpo. For my own part, I am very little subject to these violent passions. I am naturally slow of apprehension, which, by conversation, grows thicker and duller every day.

C H A P. III.

That our Affections are extended beyond our Existence.

THEY who accuse mankind of the folly of gaping always after futurity, and advise us to lay hold of the good which is present, as having too short reach to seize that which is to come, a thing even more impossible for us than to recover what is past, have hit upon the most universal of human errors, if that may be called an error, whereto nature itself has disposed us, which, for the better continuation of her own work, has, among several others, impressed us with this deluding imagination, as being more jealous of what we do, than what we know. For we are never present with, but always beyond ourselves. Fear, desire, and hope violently push us on towards what is to come, and deprive us of the sense and consideration of that which is present, by amusing us with the thought of what will be, even when we shall be no more.

Mankind too
curious after
futurity.

* Francis Guicciardin's History of Italy, lib. xiv. p. 394. vol. 2.

† Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 53.

*Calamitosus est animus futuri anxius**.

Incessant fears the anxious mind molest.

The duty of
man.

Plato often repeats this great precept †, Do what thou hast to do; and know thyself. Of these two parts, each comprehends our whole duty in general terms, and, in like manner, each includes the other; for he that would mind his own business, will find, that his first lesson is, to know what he is, and what is proper for him: and he who rightly understands himself, will never mistake another man's work for his own, but will love and improve himself above all other things; will refuse superfluous employments, and reject all unprofitable schemes and proposals. As the fool, though he should enjoy all that he can possibly desire, would not be content; so the wise man acquiesces with the present, and is never dissatisfied. Epicurus exempts his wise men from all foresight and care of futurity.

The reason-
ableness of the
law which or-
ders the con-
duct of princes
to be enquired
into after their
death.

Among the laws relating to the dead, I look upon that as salutary by which the actions of princes are to be examined after their decease. They are, while living, at least associates in making the laws, if not the masters of them; and therefore, what justice could not inflict upon their persons, it is but reasonable should be executed upon their reputations, and the estates of their successors, things that we often value above life itself ‡. This is a custom of singular advantage to those countries where it is observed, and as much to be desired by all good princes, who have reason to be offended that the memories of the wicked should be treated with the same respect as their's. We owe, it is true, subjection and obedience to all kings alike, in regard to their office; but, as to affection and esteem, these are only due to their virtue. Admitting even that we ought to be passive under un-

* Seneca, Epist. 98.

† In Timæus, p. 544. Edit. Loemarianæ, at Lyons, 1590.

‡ Diodorus of Sicily, lib. i. cap. 6.

worthy princes, to conceal their vices, and commend their indifferent actions, whilst their authority stands in need of our support : yet, when all relation betwixt the prince and subject is at an end, there is no reason why we should not, for the sake of our own liberty, and of common justice, publish our real resentments. To debar good subjects the glory of having reverently and faithfully served a prince, whose imperfections they so well knew, were to deprive posterity of an useful example. And they who out of respect to some obligation, unjustly defend the memory of a bad prince, against their own knowledge and consciences, perform a private act of gratitude at the expence of public justice. Titus Livius * very truly says, that the language of courtiers is always sounding of vain ostentation, and not to be depended on ; every one indifferently extolling his own king's valour and greatness to the highest pitch. It is not impossible but some may condemn the courage of those two soldiers, who boldly answered Nero to his face ; the one being asked by him, † “ Why he bore him ill-will ? ” “ I was true to thee, he said, whilst thou wast worthy of my love ; but when thou didst turn parricide, incendiary, a stage-player, and a coachman, I began to hate thee, and do so still.” And the other being asked, ‡ “ Why he had a design to take away his life ? ” “ Because, said he, I had no other remedy against thy perpetual mischiefs.” But, considering the public and universal testimonies that were given after his death (and will be to all posterity, both of him, and all other bad princes like him) of his tyrannical and wicked practices, what man in his senses can blame them ?

I confess, I am scandalized, that in so sacred a government as that of the Lacedæmonians, there should be so hypocritical a ceremony used at the death of their kings, when all their confederates and neighbours, and all sorts and degrees of men and

Vain ceremony of the Lacedæmonians at the death of their kings.

* Lib. xxxv. c. 48.

† Tacit. Annal. l. xv. c. 67.

‡ Ibid. c. 68.

women, as well as their slaves, cut and flased their foreheads, in token of sorrow, repeating in their cries and lamentations, * that that king (let him have been as wicked as the Devil) was the best they ever had; thereby attributing to his quality the praise that belongs to merit, and to the highest degree of it, though in the meanest member of the community. Aristotle, who leaves no subject untouched, makes a query upon

Reflections on Solon's assertion, viz. That no man can be said to be happy before death.

the saying of Solon †, That none can be said to be happy before he be dead. Whether any person, who has even lived and died according to his heart's desire, can be termed happy, if he has left an ill character behind him, or if his posterity is miserable. Whilst we have life and motion, we convey ourselves by fancy or anticipation whither, and to what we please; but when once we are out of being, we have no communication with the world, and therefore it had been better said of Solon, That no man is ever happy, because he is not so till after he is no more.

———*Et inde*

*Vix radicitus è vita se tollit, et ejicit,
Sed facit esse sui quiddam super inscius ipse,
Nec removet satis à projecto corpore sese, et
Vindicat ‡.——*

He boasts no sense can after death remain,
Yet makes himself a part of life again,
As if some other HE could feel the pain.

}

The dead treated as if alive.

Bertrand de Glesquin dying before the castle of Rancon, near Puy in Auvergne, the besieged were afterward, upon surrender, obliged to deposit the keys of the place upon his corpse. Bartholomew d'Alviano, the Venetian general, happening to die in their wars in Brescia, and his corpse being brought back to Venice through the territories of Verona, the enemy's country, most of the army were for desiring a safe conduct for it from the

* Herodot. lib. vi. p. 401.

† Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 890.

‡ Ibid. lib. i. p. 14.

Veronese; but Théodore Trivulzio opposed it, rather chusing to make way for it by force of arms, at the hazard of a battle, saying, It is not meet that he, who in his life was never afraid of his enemies, should seem to fear them when he was dead. And, in truth, in a case of much the same nature, by the Greek laws, he who made suit to an enemy for the interment of a dead body, did, by that act, renounce his victory, and his right to erect a trophy; and he to whom such suit was made, was ever reputed the conqueror. By this means it was that Nicías lost the advantage that he had visibly gained over the Corinthians, and that Agesilaus, on the contrary, confirmed the doubtful title he had before to what he gained from the Bœotians.

These proceedings might appear very odd, had it not been a general practice in all ages, not only to extend the care of ourselves beyond this life, but, moreover, to fancy, that very often the favours of Heaven accompany us to the grave, and continue even to our relics. Of this there are so many instances among the ancients, waving those of our own time, that it is not necessary I should enlarge upon the subject. Edward king of England, the first of that name, having, in the long wars betwixt him and Robert king of Scotland, experienced of how great advantage his own immediate presence was to his affairs, as he had been always victorious where he was personally engaged, when he came to die, bound his son by a solemn oath, that, as soon as he was dead, he should cause his body to be boiled till the flesh parted from the bones; and, after burying the flesh, to carry the bones continually with him in his army, so often as he should be obliged to go against the Scots; as if victory had been chained by destiny to his joints. So John Zisca, who, in vindication of Wickliffe's heresies, disturbed the Bohemians, left order, that they should flea him after his death, and make a drum of his skin, to carry into the field against his enemies, fancying it would contribute greatly to the continuation of the successes he had obtained over them. In like manner,

The opinion of some, that the favours of Heaven accompany them in the grave.

manner, some of the Indians, in day of battle with the Spaniards, carried with them the bones of one of their captains, in consideration of the victories they had formerly obtained under his conduct. And other people, of the same new world, do yet carry about with them, in their wars, the relicks of valiant men who have died in battle, to excite their courage, and advance their fortune. Of these examples, the first only reserve for the tomb, the reputation they gained by their achievements, but the latter attribute a certain agency to their dead limbs. The behaviour of captain Bayard was more rational and magnanimous, who, finding himself mortally wounded with a shot from a harquebuss, and being advised to retire out of the field, made answer, that he would not begin at the last gasp to turn his back to the enemy, and fought on as long as he had strength; till feeling himself too faint, and no longer able to sit his horse, he commanded his steward to set him down against the root of a tree, but in such a posture, that he might die with his face towards the enemy; which he did.

The singular
modesty of
Maximilian
the emperor.

I must yet add another example as remarkable, with regard to the present subject, as the former. The emperor Maximilian, great-grandfather to Philip the present king of Spain, was a prince richly endowed with great qualities, and remarkably handsome, but had at the same time a humour very contrary to that of other princes, who, for the dispatch of their most important affairs, convert their close-stool into a chair of state, viz. That he never permitted any of his valets, how much a favourite soever, to attend him in his privy, but stole aside to make water; and was as shy as a virgin to discover either to his physician, or any other person whatsoever, those parts of the body that are by custom kept secret. And I myself, who never blush at what I say, am yet naturally so modest in this point, that, unless it be at the importunity of necessity or pleasure, I very rarely let any one see those parts and actions which custom requires us to conceal. In this I
also

also suffer more constraint than I conceive is very well becoming a man, especially of my profession. But the emperor indulged this modest humour to such a degree of superstition, as to give express orders in his last will, that they should put him on drawers as soon as he was dead ; to which, methinks, he would have done well to have added by a codicil, that whoever put them on should be hoodwinked. The charge which Cyrus left with his children*, that neither they, nor any other, should either see or touch his body after the soul was departed from it, I attribute to some superstitious devotion ; both his historian, and himself, amongst other great qualities, having, in the whole course of their lives, demonstrated a singular attention and respect to religion.

Cyrus's reverence for religion.

I was by no means pleased with a story told me by a great man, of a relation of mine, who had been very eminent both in peace and war, that, being arrived to a very old age, and excessively tormented with the stone, he spent the last hours of his life in an extraordinary solicitude about ordering the pomp and ceremony of his funeral, pressing all the men of condition who came to see him, to promise their attendance on him to his grave. He most earnestly importuned the very prince, who visited him in his last agonies, that he would order his family to join in the funeral procession, urging several reasons and examples to him, to prove that it was a respect due to a person of his condition ; and, having obtained a promise, and appointed the method and order of his funeral parade, he seemed to die content. So much vanity as this was, to the very last, I scarce ever knew !

Another, though a contrary curiosity (of which I do not want a domestic example) seems to be somewhat a-kin to this ; that a man shall cudgel his brains, in the last moments of his life, to regulate his obsequies with so particular and unusual a parsimony, as to permit no

Funerals ought to be neither too magnificent, nor too mean.

* Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, lib. viii. cap. 7. towards the end.

more attendance than one single servant with a lanthorn ; and yet I see this humour commended, as well as the appointment of Marcus Æmilius Lepidus *, who forbade his heirs to bestow upon his corpse so much as the common ceremonies in use upon such occasions. Is it temperance and frugality to avoid expence and pleasure, when the use and knowledge thereof are by us imperceptible ? An easy and cheap reformation this ! If instruction were at all necessary, I should be of opinion, that this, as all other actions of life, should be regulated by every man's ability ; and the philosopher Lycon† prudently ordered his executors to dispose of his body where they should think most fit, and as for his funeral, to order it neither superfluous, nor too mean. For my own part, I should wholly leave the ordering of this ceremony to custom, and to their discretion to whose lot it shall fall to do me that last office. *Totus hic locus est contemnendus in nobis, non negligendus in nostris ‡.* The place of our sepulture is wholly to be contemned by us, but not to be neglected by our friends ; and it was a holy saying of a saint, *Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturæ, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia, quam subsidia mortuorum ||. i. e.* the care of funerals, the place of sepulture, and the pomp of the obsequies, are rather consolations to the living, than any benefit to the dead. From this consideration it was, that when Criton asked Socrates, on his death-bed, “ How he would be buried ? ” The philosopher made him answer, “ How ye will §.” If I was to concern myself further about this affair, I should think it more genteel to imitate those who entertain themselves, while alive, with the ceremony of their own obsequies, and are pleased with beholding their own dead countenances in marble. Happy are the men who can regale and gratify their senses by insensibility, and live even when they are dead !

* Before he died, he commanded his son to carry him to his sepulchre on the bare bed, without linen, purple, &c. In Epitome Liviana, lib. xlviii.

† Diogenes Laertius, in Lycon's life, lib. v. sect. 74. Edit. Wetst. Amsterdam, anno 1692.

‡ August, de Civit. Dei. lib. i. cap. 12.

§ Cicero Tuscul. lib. i. cap. 45.

§ Plato's Phædon, towards the end.

I am ready to conceive an implacable hatred against all popular government (though I cannot but think it the most natural and equitable of all others), so oft as I call to mind the injustice and inhumanity of the Athenians, who, without mercy, or once vouchsafing to hear what they had to say for themselves, put to death their brave captains newly returned triumphant from a naval victory, which they had obtained over the Lacedæmonians, near the Arginusian * isles (the sharpest and most obstinate engagement which ever the Greeks fought at sea), for no other reason but that the Greeks followed their blow, and pursued the advantages prescribed them by the law of arms, rather than stay to gather up and bury their dead. An execution that was yet rendered more odious, by the behaviour of Diomedon, who, being one of the condemned persons, and a man of eminent virtue, both political and military, advancing to speak, after having heard the sentence (till when he was not allowed a peaceable hearing), instead of pleading his own cause, or proving the manifest impiety of so cruel a sentence, only expressed a concern † for the safety of his judges, beseeching the gods to convert this sentence to their own good; and praying, that, for neglecting to pay those vows that he and his companions had made (which he also acquainted them with), in acknowledgment for so glorious a success, they might not pull down the indignation of the gods upon them; after which he went courageously to his execution.

Cruel and childish superstitions of the Athenians, as to the burial of their dead.

Fortune, not many years after, dealt them the same bread: for Chabrias, captain-general of their naval forces, having got the better of Pollis, admiral of Sparta, about the isle of Naxos, totally lost the fruits of ‡ his victory (of very great importance to their affairs), and lest he should incur the misfortune of the Athenian captains, he chose to save a

How punished.

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xiii. cap. 31. Three islands to the S. E. of that of Lesbos. † Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xiii. cap. 32.

‡ Ibid. lib. xv. cap. 9.

few bodies of his dead friends that were floating on the sea, which gave opportunity to a great number of his living enemies to sail away in safety, who afterwards made them pay dear for this unseasonable superstition.

Quæris quo jaceas post obitum loco?

*Quo non nata jacent *.*

Dost ask where thou shalt lie when dead?

With those that ne'er yet being had.

This other passage restores the sense of repose to a body without a soul.

Neque sepulcrum, quò recipiat, habeat portum corporis: ubi, remissa humana vitâ, corpus requiescat à malis†.

Nor with a tomb as with a haven blest,

Where, after life, the corpse in peace may rest.

Just so nature demonstrates to us, that several dead things still retain an occult relation to life. Wine changes in cellars, according to the changes of the seasons of the vine from whence it came; and the flesh of venison is said to alter its condition in the powdering-tub, and to vary its taste, according to the seasons of the living flesh of its kind.

C H A P. IV.

How the Soul discharges its Passions upon false Objects, when the true are wanting.

A Gentleman of my country, who was frequently tormented with the gout, being often importuned by his physicians to abstain from salt meats, used to reply merrily, That there was a necessity for his having

* Seneca Tr. Chor. ii. ver. 30.

† Cicero Tuscul. lib. i. cap. 44.

something to quarrel with in the extremity of his pain, and that he fancied, that sometimes railing at, and cursing the Bologna sausages, at other times the dried tongues, and the gammon, was some mitigation of it. And in truth, as we are chagrined if the arm which is advanced to strike misses the mark, and spends itself in vain; and as also, that to make a prospect pleasant, the sight should not be lost and dilated in the æther, but have some bounds to limit it at a reasonable distance;

The soul must have some Objects for its attention, whether true or false.

*Ventus, ut amittit vires, nisi robore densæ
Occurrant sylvæ, spatio diffusus inani* *.

As winds exhaust their strength, unless withstood
By some thick grove of strong opposing wood.

In like manner it appears, that the soul, being agitated and discomposed, is lost in itself, if it has not something to encounter with, and therefore always requires an object to aim at, and keep it employed. Plutarch says very well of those who are fond of lap-dogs and monkeys, that the amorous part which is in us, for want of a right object, rather than lie idle, does, in a manner, forge in the fancy one that is false and frivolous. And we see that the soul, in the exercise of its passions, rather deceives itself by creating a false and fantastical subject, even contrary to its own belief, than not to have something to work upon. After this manner brute beasts spend their fury upon the stone or weapon that has hurt them, and are ready to tear themselves to pieces for the injury they have received from another.

*Pannonis baud aliter post ictum sævior ursa
Cui jaculum parva Lybis amentavit habena,
Se rotat in vulnus telumque irata receptum
Impetit, et secum fugientem circuit hastam* †.

So fierce the bear, made fiercer by the smart
Of the bold Lybian's mortal-wounding dart,
Turns round upon the wound, and the tough spear
Contorted o'er her breast does flying bear.

* Lucan, lib. iii. ver. 362, 363.

† Luc. lib. vi. ver. 220, &c.

Mankind's
recourse to
thing's inani-
mate for am-
usement of
their passions.

What causes of the misfortunes that befall us do we not ourselves invent? What is it that we do not blame, right or wrong, that we may have something to quarrel with? Those beautiful tresses, young lady, which you tear off by handfuls, are no way guilty; nor is it the whiteness of that bosom which you finite with so much indignation and cruelty, that with an unlucky bullet has killed your dear brother: quarrel with something else. Livy, speaking of the Roman army in Spain, says, that for the loss of two brothers, their great captains, *Flere omne repente, et offensare capita**; all wept, and beat their foreheads: but this is a common practice. And the philosopher Bion said pleasantly of the king who plucked off the hair of his head for sorrow, "Does this man think that baldness is a remedy for grief†?" Who has not seen gamesters bite and gnaw the cards, and swallow the dice in revenge for the loss of their money? Xerxes lashed the sea, and wrote a challenge to Mount Athos‡! Cyrus set a whole army several days || at work, to revenge himself on the river Gnidus §, for the fright it had put him in when he was passing over it; and Caligula demolished a very beautiful palace ¶, for the confinement his mother had there.

* Livy, Dec. III. lib. v. Luc. lib. xxv. cap. 37.

† Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iii. cap. 26.

‡ Herodot. lib. vii. p. 452.

|| Ibid. lib. i. p. 86, 87. and Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. cap. 21. Herodotus says expressly, that Cyrus spent the whole summer about this fine expedition. And Paul Orosius, who is as incorrect as Montaigne, though in a contrary sense, says, that Cyrus employed all his troops on this work a whole year, *perpeti anno*, lib. ii. cap. 6.

§ Or Gyndas, γύνδης, as Herodotus calls it. Seneca and Tibullus, lib. iv. carm. i. ver. 141.—*rapidus, Cyri dementia, Gyndes*.

¶ Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. 22. *Cæsar villam in Herculaneis pulcherriam, quia sua mater aliquando in illa custodita erat, diruit*; i. e. Cæsar demolished the most beautiful city in the Herculanium, because his mother was once imprisoned in it. I question whether Montaigne rightly understood Seneca's meaning; or, I imagine, that instead of *plaisir*, he would have used the word *deplaisir*, because it agrees perfectly well with what Seneca says, "of her having been confined there as in a prison." In one of the first editions of the Essays in French, *plaisir* was, by inadvertency, printed instead of *deplaisir*, which mistake was from thence continued in all the succeeding editions; at least, it is the same in all that I have been able to consult; and from thence Mr. Cotton used the word Pleasure.

I remember there was a story when I was a boy, that one of our neighbouring kings having been smitten by the hand of **God**, swore he would be revenged; and he ordered a proclamation, that, for ten years to come, no person in his dominions should pray to him, or so much as mention him, or even believe in him: by which we are not so much to take measure of the folly, as of the vain-glory peculiar to the nation of which this story was told. They are vices, indeed, that always go together, but such actions as these have more of temerity in them than of stupidity. Augustus Cæsar having been tossed with a tempest at sea *, fell to defying the god Neptune, and, in the pomp of the Circensian games, to be revenged, deposed his statue from the place it had amongst the other deities. In this he was less excuseable than in the former, and less too than he was afterwards, when having lost a battle under Quintilius Varus in Germany, he raved like a madman, and sometimes ran his head against the wall, crying out, † “ O Varus, give me my “ Legions again!” For their’s exceeded all folly, because it was attended with impiety, by carping at God himself, or at least at fortune, as if she had ears to be dinned with our complaints; like the Thracians ‡, who when it thunders or lightens, fall to shooting against Heaven with Titanian vengeance, as if by flights of arrows they thought to reduce the Deity to reason. Now as the ancient poet in Plutarch tells us, in his treatise of contentment, or the peace of the mind, chap. 4. of Amyot’s translation,

Impertinent
vanity of a
king.

Point ne se faut courroucer aux affaires :

Il ne leur chaut de toutes nos choleres.

We must not rave at Heaven in our affairs,

Which for our indignation nothing cares.

But we can never enough condemn our unruly passions.

* Suetonius, in the life of Augustus, sect. 16.
sect. 23.

† Herodot. lib. iv. cap. 289.

‡ Suetonius, ibid.

C H A P. V.

Whether the Governor of a Place besieged ought himself to go out to parley.

L Ucius Marcius*, the Roman Legate, in the war against Perseus king of Macedon, in order to gain time for putting his army into a good condition, set on foot some overtures of accommodation, with which the king being lulled asleep, concluded a cessation for a certain number of days, thereby giving his enemy opportunity and leisure to strengthen their army, which proved his own final ruin; yet the elder sort of senators, mindful of their forefathers customs, condemned this proceeding, as injurious to their ancient practice, which, they said, was to fight by mere valour, and not by stra-

The practice of stratagems against an enemy censured.

tagem, surprizes, and night-encounters, neither by pretended flights, nor unexpected rallies; never making war till having first proclaimed it, and very often appointing both the hour and place of battle. Out of this honest principle it was, that they sent back to Pyrrhus his treacherous physician, and to the Hetrurians their disloyal schoolmaster. And this was indeed a conduct truly Roman, without any mixture of the Grecian subtilty, or the Punic cunning, with whom it was reputed not so honourable to overcome by force as by fraud. The latter may be of service for once, but he only reckons himself fairly overcome, who knows he is subdued neither by policy, nor chance, but by mere dint of valour, hand to hand, in a fair and generous battle†. And it is plain by the language of these good old senators, that this fine sentence was not yet admitted amongst them,

— *Dolus an virtus quis in hoste requirat ‡?*

All arts are lawful that defeat a foe.

* Titus Livy calls him Quintus Marcius, lib. xiii. cap. 37, &c.

† Liv. lib. xiii. cap. 43, 47.

‡ Æneid, lib. ii. ver. 390.

The Achaïans, says Polybius, abhorred all manner of fraud, not reputing it a victory, unless where the courage of the enemy was fairly quelled. *Eam vir sanctus et sapiens sciet veram esse victoriam, quæ salva fide, et integra dignitate parabitur* *. An honest and a wise man will allow that only to be a true victory which is obtained without breach of faith, or stain of honour. Another says,

*Vosne velit, an me regnare vera, quidve ferat fors,
Virtute experiamur* †.

In brave contention let us fight, to know
On whom dame Fortune will the palm bestow.

In the kingdom of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca islands, amongst those people whom we so roundly call Barbarians, they have a custom never to commence war till it be first proclaimed; adding withal, an ample declaration of what means are in their power to carry it on, with what, and how many men, what ammunition, and what arms, both offensive and defensive; but that being done, they afterwards conceive it lawful to employ, without reproach, any means that may best conduce to their success in the war. The ancient Florentines were so far from seeking any advantage over their enemies by surprize, that they always gave them a month's warning before they drew their army into the field, by the continual tolling of a bell they called Martinella. As for us who are not so scrupulous in this affair, and who attribute the glory of a battle to him who has the better of it, and who say with Lysander ‡, "Where the lion's skin is too short, we must eke it out with the fox's case;" the most common occasions of surprize are derived from this practice, and we hold, that there are no moments in which the general ought to be more upon his guard, than those of par-

A people who never attack enemies, without a previous declaration of war.

The Florentines proclaimed war by tolling a bell.

The most unfair stratagems publicly authorized.

* Florus, lib. i. cap. 12.
cap. 12.

† Ennius apud Cicero, lib. i. de Offic.
‡ See his life by Plutarch, chap. 4. translated by Amyot.

leys and treaties of accommodation. It is therefore become a general maxim in these times, that a governor of a place never ought, in a time of siege, to go out to parley. It was for this reason that, in our ancestors days, messieurs de Montmard and d'Affigni were so highly censured in their defence of Mouson against the count de Nassau; yet in this case it would be excusable in that governor, who, if he went out, should take care that the safety and advantage should be on his side, as count Guido de Rongoni did at Reggio (if we may believe Bellay, for Gucciardine says it was he himself) when Mons. de l'Escut advanced to parley, who stepped so little a way from his fort, that a disorder happening in the interim of the parley, not only Mons. de l'Escut and his party, who were advanced with him, found themselves by much the weaker (insomuch that Aleffandro de Trivulcio was there slain), but he himself was compelled, as the safest way, to follow the count, and rely upon his honour, to shelter himself from the shot within the very walls of the town. Eumenes, being shut up in the city of Nora by Antigonus*, and by him importuned to come out to hold a parley with him, as he sent him word, it was fit he should to a greater and better man than himself, and one who had now an advantage over him, he returned him this noble answer, "Tell him (said he) that I shall never think any man better than myself, whilst I wear a sword;" and he would not consent to go out to him, till, according as he demanded, Antigonus had delivered him his own nephew Ptolomeus in hostage. And yet some have fared very well in going out to hold a parley with the besieger. Witness Henry de Vaux, a gentleman of Champagne, who being besieged in the castle of Commercy by the English, under the command of Bartholomew de† Bonnes, who had so sapped most of the out-works of the castle, that nothing remained but setting fire to the mine, to bury the besieged under the ruins, he requested the

* Plutarch's life of Eumenes, cap. 5.

† Vol. i. ch. 209. Froissart, from whom Montaigne relates this, calls him Bartholomew de Brunes.

said Henry to come out to hold a parley with him for his own good; which Henry doing accordingly, with three more in company, and his evident ruin being made apparent to him, he thought himself singularly obliged to the enemy, to whom he surrendered with his garrison at discretion, and then fire being applied to the mine, the props immediately fell, and the castle was blown up, so that not one stone was left upon another. I am very ready to give credit to the faith of another person, but I should be very loth to do it in a case, where it should be supposed I did it rather from despair, and want of courage, than voluntarily, and from a confidence in the sincerity of the person with whom I had to do.

C H A P. VI.

The Time of Parleys dangerous.

YET I lately observed that at Muffidan, in my neighbourhood, those who were drove out of it by our army, complained, with others of their party, that, during a treaty of accommodation, and in the very interim that the deputies were treating, they were surprised by treachery, and cut to pieces: a fact which, perhaps, in another age might have been coloured over; but, as I said before, the custom of war in these days is quite different, and there is now no confidence to be placed in an enemy, till after the last seal of obligation; and even then there is danger enough; so hazardous a thing it is, and ever was, to trust the observation of the faith engaged to a town which capitulates upon easy and favourable terms, to the licentiousness of a victorious army, and to give soldiers free entrance into it in the heat of blood. Lucius Æmilius Regillus, a Roman prætor, having lost time in attempting to take the city of Phocœa by force, by reason of the singular valour wherewith the inhabitants

The faith of
military men
very uncertain.

habitants defended themselves, conditioned at last to receive them as friends to the people of Rome, and to enter the town as into a confederate city, securing them from the fear of any hostility*: but having, for the greater pomp, brought his whole army in with him, it was not in his power, with all his endeavour, to restrain his men: so that avarice and revenge being too hard for his authority, and for the military discipline, he saw a considerable part of the city pillaged before his face. Cleomenes used to say, "That what mischief soever a
 " man could do his enemy in time of war was above
 " justice, and that he was not accountable for it in the
 " fight of the gods and men." And having concluded a truce with those of Argos for seven days, he fell upon them the third night after, when they were all in a profound sleep, and put them to the sword, alledging for his excuse, that in the truce there was no mention of nights; but the gods punished his perfidy.

In a time of parley also, and while the citizens thought themselves very secure, the city of Cassilinum was taken by surprize, and that too in the age of the justest captains, and when the discipline of the Roman militia was in its perfection: for it is not said, that it is not lawful for us, at a proper time and place, to make an advantage of our enemies want of understanding, as well as their want of courage. And, doubtless, war has naturally a great many privileges that are justifiable even to the prejudice of reason. And therefore here the rule fails, *Neminem id agere ut ex alterius prædetur insci-*
tia†. That no one should make an advantage of another's folly. But I am astonished at the great liberty allowed in such cases by Xenophon, in his Cyropædia, and that both by the determinations and the several exploits of his complete emperor. He is an author, I confess, of much weight in those affairs, as being, in his own person, both a great captain, and a philosopher of the first form of the disciples of Socrates; but I cannot come into such a latitude as he dispenses with in all

* Livy, lib. xxxvii. cap. 32.

† Cicero de Offic. lib. iii. cap. 17.

things and places. Monsieur d'Aubigny having besieged Capua, and played a furious battery against it, signior Fabricio Colonna, governor of the town, having begun to hold a parley from one of the bastions, and his soldiers, in the mean time, being less on their guard, our men took it, and put all to the sword. And of later memory, at Yvoy, signior Juliano Rommino having been such a novice as to go out to hold a parley with the constable, at his return found the place taken. But that we might not go unrevenged, the marquis de Pescara having laid siege to Genoa, where duke Octavio Fregosa commanded under our protection, when the articles of capitulation were so far advanced, that it was looked upon as good as concluded, several Spaniards being slipped in, made use of this treachery, as an absolute victory. And since that time, at Ligny in the Barrois, where the count de Brienne commanded, the emperor having besieged it in person, and Bertheville, the said count's lieutenant, going out to hold a parley, whilst he was capitulating, the town was taken.

They say,

*Fu il vincer sempre mai laudabil cosa,
Vincasi ò per fortuna, ò per ingegno*.*

That conquest ever was a glorious thing;
Which way foe'er the conqueror purchas'd it,
Whether it was by fortune, or by wit.

But the philosopher Chrysippus was not of this opinion, nor I heartily; for he said, † That he who runs a race, ought to exert all his strength in speed; but that it is by no means fair in him to lay hand upon his adversary, to stop him, or to set a leg before him to throw him down. And yet more generous was the answer of the great Alexander to Polypercon, when he persuaded him to take advantage of the darkness of the night to fall upon Darius: By no means, said he; I do not want to steal a victory, I had rather be sorry for my fortune, than ashamed of my victory ‡.

* Ariosto, cant. xv. ver. 1, 2.

† Cicero de Offic. lib. iii. cap. 10.

‡ Quint. Curtius, lib. iv. cap. 13.

*Atque idem fugientem haud est dignatus Orodem
Sternere, nec jacta cæcum dare cuspide vulnus :
Obvius, adversoque occurrit, seque viro vir
Contulit haud furto melior, sed fortibus armis*.*

His heart disdain'd to strike Orodes dead,
Or in his back to stab him as he fled.
Then with disdain the haughty victor view'd
Orodes flying, nor the wretch pursu'd :
Nor thought the dastard's back deserv'd a wound,
But hast'ning to o'ertake him, gain'd the ground :
Then, turning short, he met him face to face,
To give his victory the better grace.

C H A P. VII.

That our Actions are to be judged by the Intention.

In what sense
death discharges
us of all our ob-
ligations.

IT is a common saying, "That death
"discharges us of all our obligations."
Yet I know some that have taken it in
another sense. Henry VII. king of
England, articked with don Philip, son to Maximilian
the emperor, or to give him the more honourable ap-
pellation, father to the emperor Charles V. that the said
Philip should deliver up to him his enemy, the duke of
Suffolk, of the White Rose, who had taken refuge in
the Netherlands, and promised that, upon such surrender
of him, he would attempt nothing against the said
duke's life, in which he was as good as his word, but
when he came near to his latter end, he enjoined his son,
by his last will and testament, to put him to death im-
mediately after his decease. And lately, in the tragedy
which the duke of Alva presented to us at Brussels, in
the persons of the counts of Horne and Egmont, there
were many very remarkable passages, one of which was,
that the said count of Egmont (upon the security of

* Æneid. lib. x. ver. 732.

whose word and honour the count of Horne surrendered himself to the duke of Alva) earnestly intreated that he might first mount the scaffold, to the end that his death might disengage him from his obligation to the count Horne. In this case, methinks death did not acquit the king of his engagement, and the count of Egmont was acquitted of his, even though he had not died. We cannot be bound beyond our abilities : and because the effects and performances are not in our power, and as in truth there is nothing in our power but the will, it is on this that all the rules of man's duty are necessarily founded and established. Thus the count of Egmont, thinking his soul and will bound to his promise, though he had not the power to make it good, had doubtless been absolved of his obligation, even if he had outlived the count of Horne. But the king of England, breaking his faith by previous intention, could no more excuse himself for deferring the execution of his treachery till after his death, than Herodotus's mason*, who having kept the treasures of the king of Egypt his sovereign inviolably secret in his life-time, discovered it at his death to his children.

I have known many persons in my time, who, being reproached by their consciences of with-holding the property of another person, have aimed at making satisfaction by their last will and testament, and after their decease; but they do nothing who take so much time in so pressing an affair, or who think to repair an injury with so little compunction and expence. They owe, besides, something of what they have in their immediate possession; and the more they incommode themselves, by restoring what they have unjustly taken, the juster and the more commendable is their satisfaction; for penitence requires penance. Those do yet worse, who, by their last will declare a mortal animosity against their neighbour, which they had concealed in their life-time, wherein they shew their little regard to their own ho-

Satisfaction
after death
insignificant.

* Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 151.

nour, by irritating the person offended against their memory; and less to their conscience, not having the power, even in respect to death, to let their malice die with them, but extending its existence beyond their own. Unjust judges, who defer judgment to a time when they can have no knowledge of the cause! for my part, I shall take what care I can, that my death make no discovery of what my life has not first declared, and that publicly.

C H A P. VIII.

Of Idleness.

AS we see some lands that have lain fallow, if the soil is fat and fertile, produce innumerable sorts of wild herbs that are good for nothing, for want of being cultivated, and sown with certain seeds proper for our service; and as we find that some women who have not known men, do of themselves bring forth shapeless lumps and pieces of flesh, and that to cause a proper and natural generation, it is necessary to impregnate them with another kind of seed: even so it is with our minds, which if not applied to some particular subject to check and restrain them, rove about confusedly in the vague expanse of imagination.

*Sicut aquæ tremulum labris ubi lumen ahenis
Sole repercussum, aut radiantis imagine lunæ,
Omnia pervolitat latè loca, jamque sub auras
Erigitur; summique ferit laquearia tecti†.*

Thus translated by Mr. DRYDEN.

So when the sun by day, or moon by night,
Strikes on the polished brass their trembling light,
The glitt'ring species here and there divide,
And cast their dubious beams from side to side;
Now on the walls, now on the pavement play,
And to the cieling flash the glaring day.

† Æneid, lib. viii. ver. 22.

In

In which agitation, there is no folly, nor idle fancy, which they do not create.

———*velut ægri somnia, vanæ*

Finguntur species———*

Like sick men's dreams, that from a troubled brain
Phantasms create, ridiculous and vain.

The soul that has no established limit to circumscribe it, loses itself; for, as the epigrammatist says,

Quisquis ubique habitat, maxime nusquam habitat†.

He that is every where, is no where.

When I lately retired to my own house, with a resolution to avoid all manner of concern in affairs as much as possible, and to spend the small remainder of my life in privacy and peace, I fancied I could not give my mind more enjoyment, than to leave it at full liberty to entertain rest, and compose itself; which I also hoped that it might do the more easily henceforwards, as being by time become more settled and improved: but I find,

Idleness bewilders the mind.

———*variâ semper dant otia mentem*‡.

———Even in the most retired states,

A thousand thoughts an idle life creates.

that, on the contrary, like a horse broke loose, which runs away with greater speed than the rider would put him to, it gives birth to so many chimeras, and fantastic monsters, one upon the neck of another, without order and design, that, for the sake of surveying the folly and absurdity of them when I list, I have begun to draw a catalogue of them, hoping in time to make my mind ashamed of itself.

* Hor. Art. Poet. ver. 7, 8.

† Martial. lib. vii. ep. 72.

‡ Lucan. lib. iv. ver. 704.

C H A P. IX.

Of Liars.

Montaigne's
confession that
he has not a very
happy Memory.

THERE is not a man whom it would so ill become to boast of memory as myself; for I own I have scarce any, and do not think that, in the world there is another so defective as mine. My other faculties are all mean and common; but in this respect, I think myself so singular and rare, as to deserve a more than ordinary character. Besides the inconvenience I naturally suffer from this defect of memory, (for in truth, the necessary use of it considered, Plato might well call it a great and powerful goddess,) in my country when they would signify that a man is void of sense, they say that he has no memory; and when I complain of the defect of mine, they reprove me, and do not think I am in earnest by accusing myself for a fool; for they do not discern the difference betwixt memory and understanding, in which they make me worse than I really am; for, on the contrary, we rather find, by experience, that a strong memory is liable to be accompanied with a weak judgment; and, as I acquit myself in nothing so well as the friend, they do me another wrong in this respect, that, by the same words with which they accuse my infirmity, they represent me as ungrateful. They bring my affection into question upon account of my memory, and turn a natural imperfection into a bad conscience. He has forgot, say they, this request, or that promise; he does not remember his friends; he has forgot to say, or to conceal such a thing for my sake. It is true, I am apt to be forgetful, but am not indifferent about any thing which a friend has given me in charge. It is enough that I suffer the misfortune, without being branded with a sort of malice, a vice so contrary to my nature.

This,

This, however, is my comfort; first, that it is an evil from which principally I have found reason to correct a worse, that would have grown upon me, namely ambition; for this is an intolerable defect in those who are incumbered with the management of public business. And (as several examples of the like kind, in the progress of nature demonstrate) the greater is this defect, I find my other faculties the stronger in proportion. I should have been apt to have rested my understanding and judgment on other men's, and have lazily followed their footsteps, without exerting my own strength, had any strange inventions and opinions occurred to me, by the help of my memory. By this means too I am not so talkative; for the magazine of the memory is apt to be better stored with matter than that of the invention: and, had my memory been good, I had, ere this, deafened all my friends by my babble; for the subjects themselves, by rousing that sort of talent which I have, of handling and applying them, would have animated and spun out my discourses. It is pity, but it is no less true, that I have observed in some of my intimate friends, who, when their memories represent a thing to them entire, and as it were in present view, begin their story so far back, and crowd it with so many impertinent circumstances, that, if the story be good in itself, they spoil it; and, if it be bad, you are either to curse the strength of their memory, or the weakness of their judgment. It is a difficult matter to close up a narration, and to cut it short in its career. Neither is there any thing that more discovers the strength of a horse, than when it makes a full stop with a grace; and of those men who talk pertinently, I know some who would, but cannot stop short; for, whilst they are seeking a period for the narration, they talk idly, and drawl out their words like men that have scarce strength to utter them. Old men especially, who yet retain the memory of things past, but forget how often they have related

The advantages which he derives from his want of memory.

them, are dangerous companions; and I have known very pleasant stories told by a man of quality, that became very nauseous, by being repeated a hundred times over in the same company. The second obligation I have to this weak memory of mine is, that I less remember the injuries done to me, so that (as the ancient said) I should have a prompter, like Darius, who, that he might not forget the affront he had received from the Athenians, whenever he sat down to table, ordered one of his pages to repeat three times in his ear, "Sir, Remember the Athenians* : moreover, the places which I revisit, and the books which I read over again, always seem new to me.

A liar ought to have a good memory. It is not without reason said, that he who has not a good memory, should never offer to tell lies. I know very

well, that the grammarians distinguish betwixt an untruth and a lie, and say, that to tell an untruth is to tell a thing that is false, which we ourselves however believe to be true; and that the Latin word *mentiri*, i. e. *contra mentem ire*, means to go and act against the conscience; and that therefore this only touches those who speak contrary to what they know, who are the persons I point at. Now these do either wholly invent a story out of their own heads, or else marr and disguise one that has a real foundation. When they disguise and alter, by often telling the same story, they can scarce avoid contradicting themselves, by reason that the real fact having first taken possession in the memory, and being there imprinted by the way of knowledge and science, it will be ever ready to present itself to the imagination, and to dislodge falsehood, which cannot have so sure and settled a footing there as certainty; and because the circumstances which they first heard, evermore running in their minds, make them forget those that are forged or foisted in. As to what they wholly invent, forasmuch as there is no contrary impression to give a shock to

* Herodotus, lib. v. p. 374.

their forgery, there seems to be the less danger of their tripping; and yet even this also, by reason it is a mere phantom, and not to be laid hold of, is very apt to escape the memory, if it be not very perfect. I have had very pleasant experience of this, at the expence of such as profess only to accommodate their discourse to the business they have in hand, or to the humour of the great men with whom they converse; for the circumstances to which they are ready to sacrifice their honour and conscience, being subject to several changes, their language must needs vary at the same time: from whence it happens, that, of the same thing, they tell one man, it is this; and another, it is that; giving it different forms and colours: and if by accident those men compare notes upon informations so contrary, what becomes of this fine art? Besides, they are such fools, that they often contradict themselves; for what a memory need they have, to retain so many different forms as they have forged upon one and the same subject! I have known many, in my time, very ambitious of the reputation of this fine sort of wisdom; but they do not see, that if there be a reputation in it, it can answer no end.

In plain truth, Lying is a cursed vice. We are men who have no other tie upon one another but our word. If we considered the horrid consequences of a lie, we should prosecute it with vengeance, as the worst of crimes.

Lying a very hateful vice.

I perceive how absurdly children are usually corrected for innocent faults, and are made to smart for rash actions that are of no significance or consequence. The faculty of lying, and what is something of a lower form, stubbornness, seem to be faults that ought, in every instance, to be checked both in their infancy and progress, they being vices which are apt to grow up with them; and, after the tongue has contracted a habit of lying, it is scarce to be imagined how impossible, almost, it is to draw it out of the false track; from whence it comes to pass, that we see

Lying, and Stubbornness, two vices that ought early to be suppressed in children.

some, who are otherwise very honest men, not only subject, but mere slaves to this vice. I have an honest lad to my taylor, who I never heard speak truth, not even when it might have been to his advantage. If falsehood had, like truth, only one face, we should be upon better terms; for we should then take the contrary of what the liar should say for certain truth; but the reverse of truth has a hundred thousand Forms, and is a field without limits. The Pythagoreans make Good to be certain and finite, and Evil, infinite and uncertain; there are a thousand ways to miss the White, and only one to hit it. For my own part, I am not sure that I could prevail with my conscience to secure myself from manifest and extreme danger by an impudent and solemn lie. One of the ancient fathers said, "That we had better be in company with a dog that we know, than with a man whose language we do not understand." *Ut externus non alieno sit hominis vice*†. So that two persons of different nations are not men with regard to each other; or, as a foreigner, to one who understands not what he says, cannot be said to supply the place of a man. And how much less sociable is false speaking than silence?

An ambassador caught in a lie by Francis I.

King Francis I. boasted, that he nonplussed Francisco Taverna, ambassador of Francis Sforza duke of Milan, a man of great fame for his eloquence, by this means. The ambassador had been dispatched to excuse his master to the king for an action of great consequence, which was this; the king, in order to maintain some correspondence still in Italy, out of which he had been lately driven, and particularly in the duchy of Milan, had thought fit to have a gentleman, on his behalf, to reside constantly near the duke; an ambassador in effect, but in appearance as a private man, who pretended to reside

† This is a passage out of Pliny, which Montaigne has mangled to adapt it to his sentiment. It runs in Pliny, *Ut externus alieno penè non sit hominis vice*, Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 1. So that two persons of different countries are not scarce men with regard to one another.

there for his own affairs. The reason of this was, that the duke, who depended much more upon the emperor (at a time especially when he was treating of a marriage with his niece, daughter to the king of Denmark, and since dowager of Lorrain), could not be known to have any correspondence or intelligence with us, without hurting his interest considerably. For this commission a Milanese gentleman was thought proper, viz. one Merveille, who was an equerry to the king. This person being dispatched with private credentials, and the instructions of ambassador, besides other letters of recommendation to the duke, in favour of his own private concerns, for a mask and a cloak, he staid so long at the duke's court, that the emperor took umbrage at it; which was the occasion, as we suppose, of what followed after, viz. that under pretence of a murder by him committed, his trial was dispatched in two days, and his head struck off in the dead of the night†. The king applying to all the princes of Christendom, and even to the duke himself, to demand satisfaction, Taverna came to the court of France with a long counterfeit story, had his audience at the morning-council, where, for the support of his cause, he made a plausible harangue, concluding, that his master had never looked upon this Merveille for any other than a private gentleman, and his own subject, who came to Milan only about his own affairs, and had never lived there in any other character; absolutely denying he had ever heard that he was one of the king's household, or so much as known to his majesty, so far was he from taking him for an ambassador. The King in his turn, urging several objections and questions to him, and sifting him every way, gravelled him at last, in the circumstance of the execution being performed in the night, as it were by stealth. To this the poor man, being confounded, made answer, in order to shew his complaisance, That, out of respect to his majesty, the

† Bellay's Memoirs, lib. iv. fol. 153. &c. Edit. of Paris, 1575.

duke would have been very sorry that such an execution should have been performed in the day-time. Any one may imagine how he was reprimanded when he came home, for having so grossly prevaricated with a prince of so nice a discernment as king Francis.

Another ambassador caught in a mistake by Henry VIII. king of England.

Pope Julius II. having sent an ambassador to the king of England to animate him against king Francis, the ambassador having had his audience, and the king, in his answer observing the difficulties that would attend the making such preparations as would be absolutely necessary to cope with so powerful a king, and mentioning some reasons, the ambassador absurdly replied *, That he himself had also considered them, and had indeed mentioned them to the Pope. This speech so different from his errand, which was to push a war, gave the king of England the first glimpse of a conjecture, which was afterwards verified, that the said ambassador was in his heart a friend to France; of which the king of England having advertised the pope, his estate was confiscated, and he had like to have suffered death.

C H A P. X.

Of Readiness or Slowness in Speech.

Onc ne furent à tous toutes graces données.

THUS we see, as to the gift of eloquence, some have a facility and readiness of speech, and that which is termed a quick delivery, so fluent, that they are never at a pause; and others there are flow of

† Erasmus, in a book of his called *Lingua*, mentions this fact, as a thing that happened while he was in England. He says, that, being detected in conversation with the French ambassador by night, he was committed to prison, all his estate confiscated, and that, if he had fallen into the hands of Julius, he would scarce have escaped with his life. But the consequence of this *Lapsus linguae* was, that the King, who, perhaps, by putting off the affair might have composed the difference, hastened the war. *Operum Erasmi*, in Folio, printed at Leyden, 1703. tom. iv. col. 684.

speech, who never utter a sentence but what has been laboured and premeditated.

As the diversions and exercises of the ladies are so regulated, as to make the best display of their greatest beauty, so in these two different advantages of eloquence, of which the preachers and lawyers of our age seem to be the chief professors, if my opinion was to be taken, I should think the slow speaker would be more proper for the pulpit, and the other for the bar; be-

The slow speaker fit to be a preacher.

cause the preacher's function allows him as much time as he pleases to prepare himself; and, besides, his is one continued thread of discourse, without intermission; whereas, it is the advocate's interest to enter the lists extempore, and the unexpected answers of the adverse party throw

The ready one to be an advocate.

him off his bias, so that he is immediately forced to strike into a new path. Yet, at the interview betwixt pope Clement and king Francis, at Marseilles, it happened quite contrary, that M. Poyet, a man who had been bred up all his life to the bar, and was in high repute, being commissioned to make the harangue to the pope, and having so long studied it before-hand, that, it is said, he brought it quite ready with him from Paris; the pope, on the very day that it was to be spoken, lest he should intend to say something which might disgust the ambassadors of the other princes that were about him, sent the king a topic which he thought fittest both for the time and place, but such a topic as was quite different from that which Monsieur Poyet had taken so much pains about; so that the speech he had prepared remained of no use, and he was forced, that very instant, to set about another; but, finding himself incapable of forming it, the cardinal de Bellay was constrained to take that charge upon him. The pleader's province is more difficult than that of the preacher; and yet, in my opinion, we find more passable pleaders than preachers, at least in France. It seems that it is the nature of wit to operate speedily, and on a sudden; whereas the operation of judgment is deli-

deliberate and slow. But it is as strange for a man to be totally silent for want of leisure to prepare his speech, as it is for another to speak never the better though he had leisure,

Severus Cassius
spoke best with-
out preparation.

It is said of Severus Cassius *, that he spoke best without having thought of the subject beforehand; that he was more indebted to his fortune than to his diligence; that he spoke best when he was angered; and that his adversaries were afraid to provoke him, lest his indignation should give a double edge to his eloquence. I know by experience, that sort of genius which is so averse to intense and painful premeditation, if it does not operate briskly and freely, performs nothing to the purpose. We say of some works, that they stink of oil, and the lamp, by reason of a certain harshness and roughness, from the labour with which they were composed. But besides this, the solicitude of performing well, and the effort of the mind too far strained, and too intent upon its undertaking, break the chain of thought, and hinder its progress, as is the case of water, which being pressed by its force and quantity, hardly passes out of the neck of a full bottle, when just opened. In that sort of genius of which I have been speaking, there is this also observable, that it does not like to be disordered and stimulated with such strong passions as the wrath of Cassius (for such an impulse would be too rough), it likes not to be shocked, but solicited; and had rather be warmed and roused by sudden and accidental occasions that are foreign to the point. If it be left to itself, it only flags and languishes; agitation gives it grace and vigour. I do not like to be master of myself, and am more under the dominion of chance. Occasion, company, and even the rising and falling of my voice, extract more from my imagination, than I can find in it when I sound it and speculate by myself. Consequently, I speak better than I write, if either was to be preferred, where nei-

* Seneca's Epitome Controversiarum. Pref. lib. iii. p. 274. Edition at Geneva, anno 1626.

ther is worth any thing. This also befalls me, that I am absent from myself, and that chance brings me to myself, more than any inspection into my own judgment. I shall throw out a witticism when I write, which I may think very fine and delicate, others dull and lifeless; but, to speak freely, every one talks thus of himself according to his talent. For my part, I am frequently so bewildered, that I know not what I am about to say, and a stranger finds it out before me. Were I to make a rature, as oft as this befalls me, I should have nothing at all to say, but Chance will at another time shew it to me, as plain as the sun at noon-day, and make me wonder how I came to hesitate.

C H A P. XI.

Of Prognostications.

AS for oracles, it is certain that they began to lose their credit long before the Birth of JESUS CHRIST; for we read that Cicero was at a loss to know the reason of it, by his saying, * “How comes it to pass that the oracles at Delphos are not only now silent, but have been so for a good while, insomuch that nothing is more despised?” But as to the other prognostics that were derived from the anatomy of the beasts at the sacrifices, to which Plato, in some measure, ascribes the natural constitution of the intestines of these beasts; as to the clattering motion of chickens with their feet, the flying of birds: (*Aves quasdam, rerum augurandarum causâ natas esse putamus* †. i. e. We think some sort of birds be created purposely for the sake of augury.) Claps of thunder, the winding of rivers, (*Multa cernunt aruspices; multa augures provident; multa oraculis declarantur; multa vaticinationibus; multa somniis; multa portentis* ‡; i. e. Soothsayers and au-

* Cic. de Divinatione, lib. ii. cap. 52.
lib. ii. cap. 64.

† Ibid. cap. 65.

‡ Cic. de Natura Deorum,

gurs conjecture and foresee many things, and many things are foretold in oracles, divination, dreams, and prodigies.) And as to others of the like nature, upon which the ancients grounded most of their undertakings, whether public or private, our religion has totally abolished them; although there yet remain among us some methods of divination from the stars, from spirits, the forms of human bodies, from dreams and the like; a notable instance of the wild curiosity of our nature in amusing itself to anticipate futurity, as if it had not enough to do, to digest the things present,

—— *cur hanc tibi, rector Olympi,
Solicitis visum mortalibus addere curam,
Noscunt venturas ut dira per omnia clades?*

*Sit subitum quodcunque paras, sit cæca futuri
Mens hominum fati, liceat sperare timenti* *. i. e.

Why, sov'reign ruler of Olympus, why,
To human breasts, which heave the anxious sigh,
Add'st thou this care, that men should be so wise
To know, by omens, future miseries?

Unlook'd for send the ills thou hast design'd;
Let human eyes to future fate be blind,
That hope, amidst our fears, some place may find. }

Ne utile quidem est scire quid futurum sit: miserum est enim, nihil proficientem angere †. i. e. It is of no avail to know what is to come to pass; and it is a miserable thing to be tormented for nothing. Yet divination is of much less authority in our days. Wherefore, I think, Francis marquis de Saluzzo a very notable instance, who, being a lieutenant-general in the army of king Francis, beyond the mountains, a prodigious favourite at our court, and obliged to the king for the said marquisate, which his brother had forfeited; and who withal had no occasion to change his

* Lucan. lib. ii. ver. 4, 5, 6, 14, 15. † Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. cap. 6.

party, his own affection opposing any such step, suffered himself to be so terrified (as was confidently affirmed) with the favourable prognostications that were universally spread abroad to the advantage of the emperor Charles V. and to our disadvantage (even in Italy, where these idle prophecies had gained such credit, that at Rome a great sum of money was staked on the supposition of our ruin) that, having often condoled with his particular friends for the misfortunes which he saw must unavoidably fall upon the crown of France, and the friends he had there, he revolted, in 1536, and changed sides; but to his great loss, whatsoever constellation presided at that time. For he behaved in this affair like a man agitated with divers passions; having both towns and forces at his command, the enemy's army under Antonio de Leva close by him, and we having no suspicion of his design, it was in his power to have almost entirely ruined us; we did not, however, lose a single man by his treachery, neither any town but Fossan, nor even that till after a long dispute.

Prudens futuri temporis exitum

Caliginosa nocte premit Deus:

Ridetque si mortalis ultra

Eas trepidat.

—— *ille potens sui*

Lætusque deget, cui licet, in diem

Dixisse, vixi: cras vel atra

Nubè Polum pater occupato,

*Vel sole puro **

Lætus in præsens animus, quod ultra est

Oderit curare †. i. e.

The God of wisdom has in shades of night
Future events conceal'd from human sight,
And smiles with pity at the mortal race,
Trembling for what may never come to pass.

He's master of himself alone,
He lives that makes each day his own;

* Hor. Ode xxix. lib. iii. ver. 29.
25, 26.

† Ibid. Ode xvi. lib. ii. ver.

His life is happy, who can say,
 When night comes, I've liv'd well to-day;
 And for to-morrow takes no care,
 Whether the day prove foul or fair.

The man that's chearful in his present state,
 Is never anxious for his future fate.

And they who put a contrary sense on this passage misunderstand it *.

Much more wisely said Pacuvius,

Nam istis qui linguam avium intelligunt,

—*Plusque ex alieno jecore sapiunt, quàm ex suo,*

—*Magis audiendum, quàm auscultandum censeo* †. i. e.

As for such who understand the language of birds, and know more by the liver of an animal than by their own reason; I think it is better to give them a hearing than credit.

The strange original of the art of divination. The so much celebrated art of divination among the Tuscans, had its rise thus: a ploughman forcing his share deep into the earth, turned up the demi-god Tages ‡, who had the visage of a child, but the wisdom of an

* What Montaigne says here, seems at first obscure, and it is not easy to discover its connection with what goes before. But this perplexity proceeds chiefly from the bold and unusual transposition which he has made of the words *au contraire*, which ought to be placed thus, *au contraire, ceux qui croient ce mot le croient à tort*; i. e. on the contrary, they who believe this passage are in the wrong. It has been quite mistaken in Mr. Cotton's English Translation of Montaigne, however just and elegant it may be elsewhere; for hitherto Montaigne, had been condemning the prognostics of futurity, drawn from several tokens, founded merely on human fancy; and now he declares against that principle of the stoics, quoted by Cicero de Divinatione, lib. iii. cap. 6. viz. "If there is such a thing as divination, there are gods; and if there are gods, there is divination." I have been more particular in my Preface, to shew the reason of that incoherence for which Montaigne's style is so much blamed. It is certain that the connection of his sentiments must needs often escape the discernment of an inattentive reader; but I hope that I have demonstrated, that, however common, the connection is very real.

† Pacuvius apud Cic. de Divinatione, lib. i. c. 57.

‡ Cic. de Divinatione, lib. ii. cap. 23.

Indigenæ dixere Tagen, qui primus Etruscum

Edocuit gentem casus aperire futuros.

Ovid. Metam. lib. xv.

i. e. he that first taught the Tuscans the knowledge of futurity was by the natives called Tages,

old man. Every body flocked to him ; and his sayings, and his system, containing the principles of this art, and the means of attaining it; was compiled, and preserved for many ages. As its rise, so was its progress. I should chuse rather to regulate my affairs by the turn of a dye, than by such dreams ; and, indeed, in all republics, a good share of authority has ever been left to chance. Plato, in that system of government which he has formed out of his own head, ascribes the decision of several important things to chance ; and amongst the rest, would have marriages of the better † fort of people be appointed by lot : and to such choice by chance he gives so great a sanction, as to order the children born of such marriage to be brought up in the country, and that those of mean parentage should be turned out of it : nevertheless, that if any one, so banished, should, as it grew up, happen to give any hopes of being eminently good, it might be recalled, and those that were kept at home, who give little expectation of their youth, were as liable to be banished. I see some that pore and comment on their almanacs, producing their authority for occurrences, who after all must needs stumble upon some truth in a number of lies. *Quis est enim qui totum diem jaculans non aliquando conlinet ‡ ?* i. e. Who is there that shoots at a mark all day, will not hit it sometimes ? I do not think the better of them for some accidental hits. There would be more certainty in it, if it was settled as a rule always to lie. Besides, nobody keeps a register of their misreckonings, because they are common and endless ; but, if they once guess right, their divinations are cried up as rare, incredible, and prodigious. Diagoras, fir-

† Viz. in his Republic, lib. v. where he requires, that the chiefs of his commonwealth should so order it, that the men of the greatest excellence should be matched with the most excellent women ; and, on the contrary, that the most contemptible men should be married to women of their own low character ; but that the thing should be decided by a sort of lottery, so artfully managed (*καλῶς ποιήτω κομιδῇ*) that the latter may blame Fortune for it, and not their governors. But there is not one instance of choice made by chance, and consequently Montaigne might as well have omitted to give us this quotation.

‡ Cic. de Divinatione, lib. ii. cap. 59.

named the Atheist, being in the temple of Samothrace; where he saw the many vows and pictures of those that had escaped shipwreck, the person who shewed them, said to him, " You who think that the gods have no concern for human things, what say you of so many persons saved by their favour?" " So it was, replied Diagoras, but here are not the pictures of those that were drowned, who were much the greater number." Cicero observes *; that of all the philosophers who acknowledged any deities, Xenophanes of Colophon is the only one that endeavoured to eradicate all manner of divination. And it is not so much to be wondered, if we have seen some of our princes, to their own cost, influenced by these chimeras †. I wish I had with my own eyes seen those two wonderful books, viz. that of Joachim the Calabrian abbot, which foretold all the future popes, their names and shapes; and that of the emperor Leo, which prophesied of the emperors and patriarchs of Greece. This I have been an eye-witness of, that in public confusions, men, astonished at their fortune, have abandoned their reason almost totally to superstition, by looking up to the starry heaven for the ancient causes and prognostics of their fate, and have therein been so surprisingly successful in my time, as to make me believe, that this study, being an amusement for men of penetration and leisure, those who are inclined to this subtilty of explaining and unriddling mysteries, would be capable of finding out what they want to know in all writings whatsoever. But above all, that which gives them the greatest scope is, the obscure, ambiguous, and fantastic part of their prophetic jargon, to which their authors give no clear interpretation, to the end that posterity may make what application of it they please.

Montaigne's opinion of Socrates's Dæmon.

The Dæmon of Socrates was, perhaps, a certain impulse of the will, which obtruded itself on him without consulting his own judgment. For in a soul so re-

* Cic. de Nat. Deorum, lib. iii. cap. 37.

† Cic. de Divin. lib. i. cap. 3.

fin'd as his was, and prepared by the constant exercise of wisdom and virtue, it is probable, that these inclinations of his, though rash and indigested, were always important, and worthy to be followed. Every one finds in himself some image of such agitations of a prompt vehement, and fortuitous opinion. It is my duty to allow them some authority, who attribute so little to our prudence. And I myself have had some agitations, weak in reason, but violent in persuasion, or in dissuasion (which was the common case with Socrates), by which I have suffered myself to be carried away so much to my own advantage, that they might well be supposed to have something in them of divine inspiration.

C H A P. XII.

Of Constancy.

BY resolution and constancy it is not implied that we ought not, as much as in us lies, to secure ourselves from the mischiefs and inconveniencies that threaten us; nor, consequently, that we should not be afraid of being surpris'd by them: on the contrary, all honest means of preserving ourselves from harms are not only allowed of, but commendable. And the business of constancy chiefly is, to suffer, without flinching, those inconveniencies against which there is no remedy. At the same time, there is no motion of the body, nor any guard in the handling of arms, that we disapprove of, if it serves to defend us from the stroke that is aimed at us. Several very warlike nations have, in their battles, found their chief advantage in a retreat, and done the enemy more mischief by turning their backs to them than their faces. Of which way of fighting the Turks retain something to this day. Socrates, in Plato, rallies Laches, who had defined fortitude to be nothing more nor less, than standing firm in rank to face the enemy: "What,"

In what constancy and resolution consists.

said he, "would it be cowardice to beat them by giving ground?" At the same time he quoted Homer, where he commends Æneas for his skill in retreating. And because Laches, upon fresh consideration, owned this was the practice of the Scythians, and in general of all cavalry, he urged another proof from the instance of the infantry of the Lacedæmonians (a nation of all others the most obstinate in maintaining their ground), who, in the battle of Platea, not being able to penetrate the Persian phalanx, thought fit to fall back, that the enemy, supposing them flying, might break and disunite their firm body in the pursuit, by which means the Lacedæmonians obtained the victory. As for the Scythians, it is said, that when Darius set out on his expedition to subdue them, he sent to reproach the king with cowardice, for always retiring before him, and declining a battle; to which Indathyrfis (for that was his name) made answer, "That he did so not for fear of him, or of any man living, but that it was the way of marching in his country, where there were neither tilled fields, nor town, nor house to defend, or of which the enemy could make any advantage: but that if he had such a voracious appetite, let him only come and view their ancient place of sepulture, and there he should have his bellyfull*.

Nevertheless, as to cannon which is levelled for a mark, as the occasions of war often require, it is shameful to quit a post to avoid the threatened blow, forasmuch as, by reason of the violence and velocity of the shot we account it inevitable; and many a person by ducking the head, or holding up the hand, has furnished matter for his comrades to laugh at. Yet, in the expedition which the emperor Charles V. made against us in Provence, the marquis de Guast going to reconnoitre the city of Arles, and venturing to advance out of the shelter of a windmill, by the favour of which he made his approach so near the town as he had done, he was spied by the seigneurs de Bonneval and

* Herodotus, lib. iv. p. 300, 301.

the seneschal d' Agenois as they were walking on the Theatre des Arenes †, who having shewed him to monsieur de Villiers, commissary of the artillery, he levell'd a culverin at him so dextrously, that had not the marquis; upon seeing the match lighted, instantly popped to one side, he probably would have been shot in the body. In like manner, some years before this, Lorenzo de Medicis, duke of Urbino, father to the queen-mother of France, laying siege to Mondolpho, in those parts called the Vicariate of Italy, seeing the gunner put fire to a piece that pointed directly at him, was so fortunate as to duck down that moment, otherwise the ball, which only grazed the top of his head, would doubtless have hit him on the breast. To speak truth, I do not think that these dodgings are made with judgment; for how is any man living able to judge of high or low aim on so sudden an occasion? and it is much more natural to think, that fortune favoured their fear, and that the same motion, at another time, might as well put a person into danger, as free him from it. For my own part, I cannot forbear starting when the noise of a gun thunders in my ears on a sudden, and in a place where I have no reason to expect it, which I have also observed in other men of stouter hearts than mine. Neither do the stoics mean that the soul of their philosopher should be proof against the first surprize, by visions and fancies; and they think that it is but natural for him to be shocked by the terrible rattle of thunder, or the fall of some ruin, for instance, even so as to turn pale, or be convulsed (as well as in the other passions.) This the stoics, I say, dispense with in their wise man, provided his judgment remains sound and entire. A fright is the same thing to him who is not a philosopher, in the first moment of it, but quite another case in the second; for, in such a one, the impression of the passions does not remain superficial only, but penetrates

Philosophers not blameable for yielding to the first attacks of the passions.

† The theatre for the public shews of riding, fencing, &c.

even to the seat of his reason, so as to infect and corrupt it. According to his passions he judges and conforms his conduct. But in this verse you may see the state of the wise stoic elegantly and plainly expressed :

Mens immota manet, lacrymæ voluntur inanes *.

The mind doth fix'd remain,
While tears are shed in vain.

The peripatetic philosopher is not exempt from the perturbations of the mind, but he keeps them within bounds.

C H A P. XIII.

Of the ceremony at the interview of princes.

The respect which gentlemen are obliged to pay to a great man who visits them.

THERE is no subject so frivolous, that does not merit a place in this rhapsody. According to our common rules of civility, it would be unpolite behaviour to an equal, and much more to a superior, to fail of being at home, when he has given you notice that he will come to pay you a visit. Nay, queen Margaret of Navarre carried the point farther, by saying, That it is uncivil in a gentleman to go out of his house, as is a common practice, to meet any one coming to see him, be he ever so great a man ; and that it is more respectful and civil to stay at home to receive him, were it only for fear of missing him by the way ; and that it is enough to accompany him to his apartment. For my part, who am for as little ceremony as possible, in my own house, I often forget both these vain offices. If any one be offended, what would you have me do ? It is better to offend him once, than myself every day ; for it would be a perpetual slavery. To what end do we avoid the servile attendance of courts, if we bring the same home to our

* Virg. lib. iv. ver. 449.

own cottages? It is also a common rule in all assemblies, that those of less quality should be the first at the place of assignation, because to be waited on, is an honour, to which those of the greatest distinction have the best title.

Nevertheless, at the interview betwixt pope Clement VII. and king Francis, at Marseilles, in 1533, the king, after he had given order for the necessary

The usual ceremony at the interview of princes.

preparations, went out of town, and gave the pope two or three days respite for his entry and refreshment, before he came to him. In like manner also, at the interview betwixt the same pope and the emperor Charles V. at Bologna, the latter end of the year 1532, the emperor gave leave to the pope to be there first, and then went thither himself. It is, they say, a common ceremony at the conferences of such princes, that the greatest should be at the place appointed before the others, nay before him in whose territories they are to meet; and the reason is, because it should seem proper for the inferiors to seek out and apply to the greater, and not he to them.

Not every country only, but every city, and even every profession, has a particular form of civility. I was carefully

Too much Nicety in Civility is blameable.

enough educated when a child, have lived in too good company to be ignorant of the ceremonial laws of our French nation, and am able to train up others in the same knowledge. I love also to follow them, but not so servilely as to be inflaved to them all my life-time. They have some painful formalities, the omission of which, provided it be discretional, and not through mistake, is no breach of decorum. I have often seen people rude by being over civil, and troublesome in their courtesy.

As for the rest, to know how to behave well, is a very useful science. Like gratefulness and beauty, it creates a lik-

The advantages of a well-regulated civility.

ing at the very beginning of an acquaintance and familiarity, and, by consequence, opens a door for our instruction,

struction, by the example of others, and for displaying and producing ourselves for a model, if it has any Thing in it that is instructive, and fit to be communicated.

C H A P. XIV.

That the obstinate defence of a Place that is not in reason to be defended, deserves to be punished.

Valour and its Limits.

VALOUR has its bounds, as well as other virtues, which once transgressed, the next step is into the territories of vice ; so that, unless a man be very perfect in its limits, which are indeed not easily to be distinguished, such ill-judged valour leads to rashness, obstinacy, and folly.

Why too obstinate a defence of a place is punished.

From this consideration is derived the custom, in time of war, of punishing, even with death, such as are obstinate in defending a place which, by the rules of war, is not tenable : else men would be so confident, upon the hopes of impunity, that every hen-roost would stoop an army. The constable de Montmorency, at the siege of Pavia, having orders to pass the Tesin, and to take up his quarters in the suburb of St. Anthony, being hindered from doing so by a tower at the end of the bridge, which was so obstinate as to stand a battery, he hanged up every man he found in it. And again, afterwards, when he accompanied the dauphin in his expedition beyond the Alps, and took the castle of Villane by storm, all within it were put to the sword by the enraged soldiers, except the captain and the ensign, whom he caused to be trussed up for the same reason. In like manner the captain Martin du Bellay, then governor of Turin, in the same country, treated the captain de St. Bony, the rest of his men being cut to pieces at the taking of the place. But so far as the strength or weakness of a place

is always judged of by the number and weight of the forces that attack it (for a man might reasonably enough despise two culverins, that would be mad if he stood the battery of thirty cannon), taking also into the account the power of the prince who is master of the field, his reputation, and the respect due to him, it is to be feared, the balance will incline a little on that side: and from hence it happens that such princes have so great an opinion of themselves and their measures, that thinking it unreasonable that any place should presume to make head against them, they put all to the sword that resist them, as long as their fortune continues, as we see by the proud and haughty forms of summoning towns, and denouncing war, favouring so much of Barbarian insolence in use among the oriental princes, and their successors, to this day. And in that corner which the Portuguese lopped off from the Indies, they found some dominions in which it was an universal and inviolable law, that no enemy who was defeated by the king in person, or by his lieutenant or representative, should be entitled either to a ransom or mercy. So that, above all things, it is absolutely necessary for every man to take care lest he fall into the hands of a judge who is a victorious enemy, and armed for execution.

C H A P. XV.

Of the Punishment of Cowardice.

I Once heard of a prince, a very great warrior, who asserted, that a soldier ought not to be put to death because he had a faint heart; and that he said this at table, upon being told the story of the proceedings against monsieur de Vervins, and of his being sentenced to death for having given up Boulogne. Indeed, it is reasonable that a man should make a great

How cowardice ought to be punished in a soldier.

difference betwixt faults which proceed from our weakness, and those that are absolutely owing to our malice; for in the latter we act wilfully against the rules of that reason which nature has planted in us; and in the former it seems that we may appeal for our vindication to that same nature for having left us in such a state of imperfection and pusillanimity. Inasmuch, that it has been thought by many, we are not blameable for any thing but what we commit against the light of our conscience: and it is partly upon this rule that those ground their opinion, who disapprove the inflicting capital punishments upon heretics and infidels; and on this also is partly founded their opinion, who hold that an advocate and a judge are not accountable for having failed in their commissions through ignorance.

The common punishment of cowardice.

Now, as to cowardice, it is certain that the most usual way of correcting it is by disgrace and ignominy. It is supposed that this rule was first practised by the legislator Charondas; and that before his time, those who fled from battle were, by the laws of Greece, punished with death*: whereas he ordained, that they should only be exposed three days together, in the midst of a public square, dressed in women's apparel, hoping that they might still become useful, when this shame had roused their courage; chusing rather, as Tertullian says, † *Suffundere malis hominis sanguinem quam effundere*; i. e. rather to raise the blood of a man in his cheeks, than to draw it out of his veins. It seems also, that heretofore those who fled were, by the Roman laws, put to death: for Ammianus Marcellinus says ‡, that the emperor Julian condemned ten of his soldiers, who ran away in the action with the Parthians, to be broke,

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xii. cap. 4.

† Tertullian in Apologet. p. 583. tom. ii. edit. at Paris, 1566. In this place Tertullian speaks of a most severe law against debtors, which was annulled by the emperor Severus; who instead of putting them to death, ordered their effects to be seized, and sold.

‡ Lib. xxiv. cap. 4. of the Lyons Edition in 1600.

and then, according to the ancient laws, to be put to death. Yet, at another time, he sentenced others*, for a like fault, only to pass their time among the prisoners and baggage. The punishment of the Roman Soldiers, who fled from the battle of Cannæ, and of those, in the same war, who ran away with Cneus Fulvius, at his defeat, did not extend to death. But it is to be feared that shame makes such delinquents desperate, and renders them not only cool friends, but warm enemies.

In 1523, Monsieur de Franget, a lieutenant in marshal de Chatillon's company, being appointed governor of Fontarabia, by the marshal de Chabannes, in the room of monsieur de Lude, surrendered it to the Spaniards, for which he was degraded from the rank of nobility, and both he and his posterity declared plebeians, taxable for ever, and incapable of bearing arms; which severe sentence was executed at Lyons. In 1536, all the gentlemen who were in Guise, suffered the like punishment, when the count de Nassau entered that town, and others have been treated in the same manner since, for the like offence. Nevertheless, in an instance of such gross and palpable ignorance or cowardice as exceeds all common cases, it is but reason to take it for a sufficient proof of treachery and malice, and to punish it as such.

How the governor of a place was punished for his cowardice.

C H A P. XVI.

A Passage of some Ambassadors.

IN my travels I make it my practice, to put those I discourse with upon the subjects they best understand, that I may learn something from their information, than

A prudent custom observed by Montaigne.

* Lib. xxv. cap. i.

which

which no school in the world can afford a better method of improvement.

* *Basti al nochiero ragionar de venti
Al bifolco de i tori, e le sue piaghe
Conti'l guerrier, conti'l pastor gli armenti,
Navita de ventis, de tauris narrat arator,
Ememorat miles vulnera, pastor ovis.*

The pilot best of winds does talk,
The peasant of his cattle ;
The shepherd of his fleecy flock ;
The foldier of his battle.

For it commonly happens, on the contrary, that people chuse to be dealing in other mens business rather than their own, as thinking it the gain of so much new reputation ; witness the jeer that Periander received from Archidamus, viz. “ That he abandoned the “ character of an able physician, to gain that of a “ sorry poet.” Do but observe what a deal of pains Cæsar takes to let us know his invention in building bridges, or constructing machines for war, and how concise he is when he comes to speak of the duties of his profession, valour and military conduct. His exploits prove him a very excellent commander ; but he desired also to be known for as good an engineer, an art in some measure foreign to his character. Dionysius the elder was a very great general, as well became his fortune, but he studied chiefly to recommend himself by poetry, for which however he had no talent. A gentleman of the long robe being brought some days ago to a study, which was furnished with all sorts of books, both of his own and all other faculties, took no occasion to entertain himself with any of them, but began very abruptly and magisterially to descant upon a barricado over-against the study, which a hundred captains and common soldiers see every day without

* These Italian verses of Ariosto are a perfect imitation of the distich in Propertius, which follows it, lib. ii. eleg. i. v. 43, 44.

taking any notice, or affecting to appear intelligent on the subject,

Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus *. i. e.

The lazy ox would saddle have and bit,

The steed a yoke, neither for either fit.

This is the way for a man never to do any thing considerable ; so that he must always endeavour to leave the architect, the painter, the shoemaker, and every other mechanic to his own trade.

To this purpose, in reading history, which is a subject equally well adapted to every person, I have been used to consider what kind of men are the writers.

Of what importance it is to know the profession of a writer.

If they make no other profession than that of literature, their style and language is what I chiefly attend to ; if they are physicians, I am the more ready to credit them in what they tell us of the air, the health and constitution of princes, of wounds and diseases ; if lawyers, we are by them to be guided in the controversies of *Meum* and *Tuum*, the nature of the laws, and civil government, and the like ; if divines, in church-affairs, ecclesiastical censures, dispensations, and marriages ; if courtiers, in manners and ceremonies ; if soldiers, the things that belong to their duty, and especially in the narratives they give of actions wherein they have been personally present ; and if ambassadors, we are to observe their negotiations, intelligencies and practices, and the manner of conducting them. This is the reason why (though perhaps I should have lightly passed it over in another, without insisting on it) I paused, and maturely considered a passage in the history writ by M. de Langey, a man of very great understanding in things of that nature, which was his account of the remonstrances that were made by the emperor Charles V. at the consistory of Rome, in the presence of the bishop of Maçon and monsieur de Velle, our ambassadors, wherein he mixed several invectives against our nation ; and amongst others, said,

* Horace, ep. xiv. lib. i. ver. 43.

“ That

“ That if his officers and soldiers were not better to be
 “ trusted, and had not more skill in the art of war
 “ than those of the king, he would go that moment to
 “ the king with a rope about his neck, and sue to him
 “ for mercy.” It really seems as if the emperor had
 no better opinion of our soldiery, because he happened
 afterwards, twice or thrice in his life, to say the very
 same thing; and he also challenged the king to fight
 him in his shirt with sword and dagger, in a boat.
 Monsieur de Langey proceeding in his history, adds,

Whether a
 prince's ambaf-
 fadors ought to
 conceal any
 thing from him
 of his own af-
 fairs.

that the said ambaffadors in their dis-
 patches to the king, concealed the great-
 est part from him, and particularly the
 two last passages. Now I wonder how
 any ambaffador can excuse himself for
 not giving his master the due informa-

tion of things of such consequence coming from such
 a person, and spoke in so great an assembly. I should
 rather conceive it had been the servant's duty faithfully
 to have represented things in their true light, as they
 happened, to the end that the sovereign might be at
 liberty to order, judge, and dispose of matters as he
 pleased: for the disguising or concealing the truth from
 him, lest he should take it in a wrong sense, and be in-
 cited to imprudent measures, should seem, methinks,
 rather to belong to him who gives law, than to him
 who receives it; to him who is the guardian and mas-
 ter of the school, and not to him who ought to look
 upon himself as inferior, not only in authority, but in
 prudence and good counsel. Be this as it will, I should
 not like to be served so in my little sphere.

Nothing more
 dear to a supe-
 rior, than the
 hearty obedi-
 ence of his in-
 ferior.

Mankind are so much disposed to re-
 ject the controul of authority, that no
 advantage which a superior derives from
 those who serve him, ought to be so dear
 to him as their sincere and cordial obe-
 dience. To obey him from discretion, and not from
 subjection*, is to injure the office of command. P,

* I find in Barbeyrac's notes upon Puffendorf, that this thought is
 taken from Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 13.

Craſſus, whom the Romans reckoned happy in five five reſpects *, having, while he was conſul in *Aſia*, ordered an engineer of Greece to bring him the biggeſt of two maſts of ſhips that he had ſeen at Athens, for a certain battering engine which he propoſed to make with it, the engineer, preſuming upon his own diſcretion, thought fit to make a different choice, and carried him the leaſt of the two maſts, which, according to the rules of art, was alſo the moſt convenient; Craſſus, having patiently heard his reaſons, cauſed him to be very heartily ſcourged, thereby preferring correction to the profit he might have received from the work. Such ſtrict obedience, however, is, perhaps, due only to commands that are precise and peremptory. The function of an ambaffador is not ſo limited, but, in many particulars he is left to the direction of his own judgment. Thoſe who are inveſted with ſuch a character are not barely the executioners of their ſovereign's will and pleaſure, but by their advice they form and model it; and I have, in my time, known perſons in authority reproved, for having rather obeyed the expreſs words of the king's letters, than conformed to the exigency of affairs. Men of underſtanding do, even to this day, condemn the practice of the kings of Perſia, in giving their lieutenants and agents ſuch precise inſtructions, that, upon every minute difficulty, they are obliged to have recourſe to their orders; this delay, in ſo vaſt an extent of dominion, being often attended with great inconvenience. And Craſſus, in writing to a man who profeſſed and underſtood mechanics, and informing him of the purpoſe for which he intended this maſt, did he not ſeem to conſult his opinion, and invite him to interpoſe his judgment?

* That he was very rich, moſt noble, moſt eloquent, moſt ſkilful in the law, and the higheſt in the prieſthood, or *Pontifex maximus*. Auli Gellii Noctes Atticæ, lib. i. cap. 13.

C H A P. XVII.

Of Fear.

Obstupui, steterunq̃ue comæ et vox faucibus hæsit *.

I was amaz'd, struck speechless, and my hair
On end upon my head did wildly stare.

The strange effects of fear.

I Am not a good naturalist († as they call it) and scarce know by what springs fear operates in us; but this I know, that it is a strange passion, and the physicians say, that there is not one of all the passions that sooner dethrones our judgment from its natural seat. I have actually seen a great many persons whom fear has rendered frantick, and it is certain, that in persons the most composed, it creates terrible confusion while the fit is upon them. To say nothing of the vulgar, to whom it one while represents their great grandfathers risen out of their graves in their shrouds, another while hobgoblins, spectres, and chimæras; but even amongst the soldiers, who ought to be possessed with the least share of it, how often have they mistaken a flock of harmless sheep for armed squadrons, reeds and bulrushes for pikes and lances, friends for enemies, and the white cross of France for the red one of Spain? In 1527, when the duke of Bourbon took Rome, an ensign, who was upon guard at the Bourg St. Pierre, was so frightened at the very first alarm, that he threw himself out of the breach with the colours in his hand, and ran directly from the town upon the enemy, thinking all the while that he was proceeding towards the interior fortifications of the city, till at last, seeing the duke of Bourbon's men draw up to face the besieged, who they thought were making a sally, he found his

* Virg. *Æneid.* lib. ii. ver. 774.

† Montaigne shews, by this Parenthesis, that the term Naturalist was but just adopted into the French language.

mistake,

mistake, and turning about retreated through the same breach by which he had issued, but not before he had advanced above a quarter of a mile into the field against the besiegers. It did not fall out quite so happily for captain Julius's ensign, when St. Pol was taken from us by the count de Bures, and M. de Reu, for he being so very much scared as to throw himself out of the town, colours and all, through a port-hole, he was cut to pieces by the besiegers. At the same siege, a gentleman was seized with such a fright, that he sunk down dead in the breach without any wound.

The like passion sometimes operates upon a whole multitude. In one of Germanicus's encounters with the Germans,

The opposite effects produced by fear.

two great parties were so intimidated, that they fled different ways, each running to the place from which the other set out. Sometimes it adds wings to the heels, as it did to the two first, and sometimes nails the feet to the ground, and fetters them; as we read of the emperor Theophilus *, who, in a battle wherein he was defeated by the Agaranes, was so astonished and stupefied, that he had no power to fly, till Manuel, one of the chief generals of his army, having jogged and shook him so, as to rouse him out of his trance, said to him, "Sir, if you will not follow me, I will kill you; for it is better that you should lose your life, than by being taken prisoner to lose your empire."

When fear is so violent as to deprive men of all sense, both of duty and honour, it makes them act like desperadoes. In the first fair battle which the Romans lost against Hannibal, in the consulship of Sempromius †, a body of at least 10,000 foot, which had taken fright, seeing no other escape for their cowardice, forced their way through the bulk of the enemy's army, which they penetrated with prodigious fury, and made a great slaughter of the Carthaginians, by that means

Fear is sometimes an incentive to feats of valour.

* Quintus Curtius, lib. iii. sect. 11.

† Tit. Liv. lib. xxi. cap. 56:

purchasing an ignominious flight, as dearly as they might have done a glorious victory.

It suspends every other passion.

The thing I am most afraid of is, fear, because it is a passion which supercedes and suspends all others. What affliction could be greater and more just than that of Pompey's friends, who in his ship were spectators of that horrid massacre? yet so it was, that the fear of the Egyptian vessels *, which they saw approaching, stifled that passion to such a degree, that they did nothing but press the rowers to make haste away, for fear of being surrounded by the enemy, till they arrived at Tyre, when being delivered from their apprehension, they had leisure to turn their thoughts to the loss they had so lately sustained, and gave vent to those lamentations and tears which the more prevalent passion had suspended.

Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mihi ex animo expectorat †.
i. e.

My mind, which fear had then oppress'd,
Was of all judgment dispossest.

Such as have been soundly thrashed in some skirmish, may, yet all bruised and bloody as they are, be brought on again next day to the charge; but those who have once conceived a dread of the enemy, will never be brought so much as to look him in the face. They who are in fear every day of losing their estates, of banishment, or of being made slaves, live in perpetual anguish, without appetite or rest; whereas such as are naturally poor slaves and exiles, often live as happy as those in better condition. And so many people who, not able to bear the terrors of fear, have hanged, drowned, and thrown themselves from precipices, afford a convincing proof that fear is even more vexatious and insupportable than death.

Pannick Fears.

The Greeks mention another kind of fear, proceeding from no visible cause,

* Cicero Tusc. Quest. lib. iii. cap. 27.

† Id. lib. iv. cap. 8.

but

but the effect of an impulse from heaven; so that whole armies and nations have been struck with it. Such was that which brought so wonderful a desolation upon Carthage, where nothing was to be heard but outcries and shrieks; the inhabitants ran out of their houses as if they were ready to fall on their heads, and they attacked, wounded, and killed one another, as if they had been so many enemies come to take their city*. They were all, in short, in the strangest disorder and distraction, till by prayer and sacrifices they had appeased the anger of the gods. This is what they call Pannick Terrors†.

C H A P. XVIII.

That we are not to judge of Man's Happiness before his Death.

—— *scilicet ultima semper
Expectanda dies homini est, dicique beatus,
Ante obitum nemo supremaque funera debet ‡.*

Till man's last day is come we should not dare,
Of happiness to say what was his share;
Since of no man can it be truly said,
That he is happy till he first be dead.

THERE is scarce a boy at school but knows the story of king Cræsus to this purpose, who being taken prisoner by Cyrus, and condemned to suffer death, cried out on the scaffold, O Solon! Solon §! which being reported to Cyrus, and he enquiring what it meant, Cræsus gave him to understand, that he now was convinced, to his cost, of the truth of that warning which was formerly given him by Solon, viz. To

No man's happiness to be judged of till death comes.

* Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xv. cap. 7.
in his Treatise of Isis and Osiris, cap. 8.
fab. 2. ver. 5.

§ Herodot. lib. i. p. 46.

† Id. ibid. and Plutarch
‡ Ovid. Metam. lib. iii.

call no man happy, how much soever fortune smiled upon him, till he had passed over the last day of his life, by reason of the uncertainty and vicissitude of human affairs, which are apt to change, in an instant, from one condition to the opposite. Therefore it was, that Agefilaus said, in answer to one who pronounced the king of Persia a happy man for coming very young to such a height of power, "It is true, but neither" "was Priam at such an age unhappy*." We know that some of the kings of Macedon, successors of Alexander the Great, were reduced to be joiners and carpenters at Rome; a tyrant of Sicily, to be school-master at Corinth; a conqueror of one half of the world, and general of many armies, a miserable suppliant to the beggarly officers of a king of Egypt. So dear did the great Pompey pay for a reprieve, of five or six months, from death. In the time of our fathers, Lewis Sforza, the tenth duke of Milan, who had so long made all Italy tremble, died in prison at Loches†, and what was worse for him, he had suffered imprisonment ten years. That most beautiful queen‡, the widow of the greatest king in Christendom, did not she die by the hand of an executioner? Base and barbarous cruelty! and to this might be added a thousand more instances of the same kind; for, as storms and tempests are provoked at the pride and loftiness of our structures, it would seem that there are spirits above which envy the grandeur of this lower world.

*Usque adeo res humanas vis abdita quædam
Obterit, et pulchros Fasces, sævajque secures
Proculcare, hac iudibro sibi habere videtur §.*

And hence we fancy UNSEEN POWERS in things,
Whose force and will such strange confusion brings, }
And spurn and overthrow our greatest kings.

* Plutarch, in his notable Sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

† In the reign of Lewis XII. who confined him there, Anno 1500.

‡ Mary, queen of Scotland, and mother of James I. king of England, was beheaded in this kingdom, by order of queen Elizabeth, in 1587. Montaigne surely wrote this long after the passage in the following chapter, where he tells us, that the year he then wrote in, was but 1572; but we do not find this particular in the quarto Edition of 1588.

§ Lucr. lib. v. ver. 1231, &c.

It would seem also as if fortune sometimes lies in wait to surprize the last day of our lives, to shew the power she has in one moment to overthrow what she was so many years erecting, and makes us cry out with Laberius, *Nimirum hac die unâ plus vixi mihi quàm vivendum fuit* *; i. e. I have therefore lived one day too long. And in this sense, it were reasonable to attend to the good advice of Solon; but he being a philosopher, with which sort of men the favours and frowns of fortune stand for nothing, either to the making a man happy or unhappy, and with whom grandeur and power, accidents of quality, are in a manner quite indifferent, I am apt to think, that he had some farther aim, and meant, that the very felicity of our lives, which depends on the tranquillity and satisfaction of a generous mind, and on the resolution and stability of a well-composed soul, ought never to be pronounced as the enjoyment of any man, till he has been seen to play the last, and doubtless the hardest act of his part. In all the rest there may have been some disguise. Either these fine lessons of philosophy are only calculated to keep us in countenance, or accidents, not touching us to the quick, allow us to preserve the same gravity; but in this last scene, betwixt death and us, there is no more playing the counterfeit, we must speak plain, and if there be any purity and simplicity at the bottom, it must be discovered.

*Nam veræ voces tum demum pectore ab imo
Ejiciuntur, et eripitur persona, manet res* *.

For then their words will with their thoughts agree,
And all the mask pull'd off, shew what they be.

This last act, therefore, ought to be the criterion or touch-stone by which all the other actions of our life are to be tried and sifted. It is the grand day, it is the day that is judge of all the rest; "It is the day," says one of the ancients, "by which all my years past are to be judged." To death do I submit the trial

* Macrobius, lib. ii. cap. 7.

† Lucret. lib. iii. v. 57, 58.

of the fruit of my studies. It will then appear whether my discourses came only from my mouth, or from my heart. I have known many who, by their death, have given a good or a bad reputation to their whole lives. Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompey *, by dying well, expunged the ill opinion which had till then been conceived of him. Epaminondas being interrogated which of the three men he had in greatest esteem, Chabrias, Iphicrates, or himself †; "We must all die," said he, "before that question can be resolved." It would really be doing vast injustice to that personage to scan him, without considering how great and honourable was his end. The Almighty has ordered every thing as it best pleased him; but, in my time, three of the most execrable persons that ever I knew, most abominably vicious, and likewise the most infamous, died natural deaths, and, in all circumstances, perfectly composed. There are some deaths that are grave and happy. I have seen the thread ‡ of a person's life cut in his progress to wonderful advancement, and in the prime of his years, who made so glorious an exit, that, in my opinion, his ambitious and courageous projects had nothing so sublime in them, as the manner in

* This remark is taken, if I mistake not, from Seneca: It is a pretty long passage, but so curious a one, that I cannot help transcribing it here. Seneca, desirous to fortify his friend against the terrors of death; said to him, in the first place, 'I should prevail on you with more ease, were I to show, that not only heroes have despised the moment of the soul's departure out of the body, but that even dastards have in this matter equalled those of the greatest fortitude of mind.' And immediately after he adds, 'Even like that, Scipio, the father-in-law of Cn. Pompey, who, being drove by contrary winds to the coast of Africa, when he saw his ship detained by the enemy, stabbed himself with his own sword; and to those who asked him where the general was?' said, "The General is well." This word equalled him to his superiors, and did not suffer the glory fatal to the Scipios in Africa to be interrupted. It was a great talk to conquer Carthage, but a harder to conquer death.' Seneca, Epist. 24.

† Plutarch, in his notable Sayings of the ancient kings, princes, and generals.

‡ It is very probable, that Montaigne speaks here of his friend Boetius, at whose death he was present, as appears by a speech which Montaigne caused to be printed at Paris, in 1571, wherein he mentions the most remarkable particulars of Boetius's sickness and death. As this speech does honour to both these eminent friends, and is become very scarce, I shall insert it hereafter.

which

which he bore their interruption ; and he arrived, without completing his course, at the place he proposed, with more grandeur and glory, than he could desire or hope for ; anticipating, by his fall, the fame and power to which he aspired in his career. In the judgment I form of another man's life, I always observe how he behaves at the end of it ; and the chief study of my own, is, that my latter end may be decent, calm and silent.

C H A P. XIX.

That he who studies Philosophy, learns to die.

CICERO says, “ That the study of philosophy is nothing more or less than a man's preparation for his death.” The reason of which is, because study and contemplation do in some sort withdraw and employ the soul apart from the body, which is a kind of discipline for death, and a resemblance of it ; or else, because all the wisdom and reasoning in the world terminates in this point, to teach us not to fear to die. And, to say the truth, either our reason abuses us, or it ought to have no other aim but our satisfaction, and no other exercise, in short, but to make us live well, and, as the holy Scripture says *, at our ease. The opinions of all mankind agree in this, that pleasure is our end, though men use divers means to attain to it, otherwise they would be rejected as soon as started ; for who would give ear to a man that should establish our affliction and misery for his end ? The disputes of the philosophic sects in this point are merely verbal, *Transcuramus solertissimas nugas* † ; i. e. Let us skip over those learned trifles, in which there is more obstinacy and quibbling than is consistent with so sacred a profession ;

* Ecclesiastes, chap. iii. ver. 12. ‘ I know that there is no good in them, but for a man to rejoice and do good in his life.’

† Seneca, epist. 117.

for what character soever a man undertakes to personate, he ever mixes his own part with it.

How pleasure is
the aim and fruit
of virtue.

Let all the philosophers say what they will, the mark at which we all aim, even in virtue itself, is PLEASURE. I love to rattle this word in their ears, because it is so very grating to them; and if it denotes any supreme delight, or excessive satisfaction, it is more owing to the assistance of virtue, than to any other aid. This pleasure, for being more gay, nervous, robust, and manly, is only the more seriously voluptuous; and we ought to give it the name of Pleasure, as that which is more favourable, gentle, and natural; not that of vigour, from which we have denominated it. The other more sordid pleasure, if it deserved so fair a name, it ought to be upon account of concurrence, not by privilege. I do not think it less free from inconveniencies and crosses than virtue. Besides that the enjoyment of it is more momentary and unsubstantial; it has its watchings, fastings, and labours, even to sweat and blood; and, moreover has so many several sorts of wounding passions in particular, and so stupid a satiety attending it, that it is as bad as doing penance. We are very much mistaken in supposing that its inconveniencies serve as a spur to it, and as a seasoning for its sweetness, as we see in nature, that one contrary is quickened by another; and to say, when we come to virtue, that the like consequences and difficulties overwhelm it, and render it austere and inaccessible; whereas, much more aptly than in voluptuousness, they enoble, sharpen, and heighten the divine and perfect pleasure which virtue procures us. He is certainly very unworthy of being acquainted with it, who weighs the expence against the profit, and knows neither its charms nor how to use it. They who preach to us that the pursuit of it is rugged and painful, but the fruition pleasant, what do they mean, but that it is always disagreeable? For what human means ever arrived to the attainment of it? The most perfect have been forced to content themselves with aspiring to it, and to approach, without
ever

ever possessing it. Of all the pleasures which we know, the very pursuit of them is pleasant. The attempt favours of the quality of the thing which it has in view. The felicity and rectitude which shines in virtue, fills up all its apartments and avenues even from its first entrance to its utmost limits.

One of the chief benefits of virtue is, the contempt of death, an advantage which accommodates human life with a soft and easy tranquillity, and gives us a pure and amiable taste of it, without which every other pleasure is extinct; which is the reason why all the rules of philosophy centre and concur in this one article. And though they all unanimously teach us in like manner to despise sorrow, poverty, and other accidents to which the life of man is subject, yet they are not so solicitous about it, not only because these accidents do not so necessarily require it, many men passing their whole lives without feeling poverty, sickness, or sorrow, as Xenophilus *, the musician, who lived to the age of a hundred and six, in perfect health; but also because at the worst, death can, whenever he please, cut short, and put an end to all other inconveniences: but as to death it is inevitable.

The contempt of death one of the principal benefits of virtue.

*Omnes eodem cogimur ; omnium
Versatur urna ; serius, ocysus
Sors exitura, et nos in aeternum
Exilium impositura Cymbæ. † i. e.*

To the same fate we must all yield by turn,
Sooner or later, all must to the urn :
When Charon calls abroad, we must not stay,
But to eternal exile sail away.

By consequence, if it fright us, it is a continual torment, of which there can be no mitigation; and there is no

* *Omnis humani incommodi expertus*, (says Valerius Maximus, lib. viii. cap. 13. in *Externis*, sect. 3.) *in summo perfectissimæ splendore doctrinæ extinctus est*; i. e. After having lived free from every human ailment, he died in the highest reputation of being perfect master of his science.

† Hor. Lib. ii. Ode iii. ver. 25.

way by which we can possibly avoid it. We may incessantly turn our heads this way and that way, as if we were in a suspicious country, *que quasi saxum Tantalò, semper impendet* *, i. e. like the rock of Tantalus, it always hangs over our heads, ready to fall. Our courts of justice often sent condemned criminals to be executed at the place where the fact was committed : and were they to be carried to all the fine houses by the way, and entertained with as good cheer as you please,

———*non siculæ Dapes
Dulcem elaborabunt saporem :
Non avium citbaræque cantus
Somnum reducent* †.

The best Sicilian dainties would not please,
Nor yet of birds, or harps, the harmonies }
Once charm asleep, or close their watchful eyes. }

Do you think it would make them merry, or that the fatal end of their journey being continually before their eyes, would not deprave their tastes, so as to have no relish for any of these delicacies.

*Audit iter numeratque dies spatioque viarum
Metitur vitam, torquetur peste futura* ‡. i. e.

He time and space computes by length of ways,
Sums up the number of his few dark days ;
And his sad thoughts full of his fatal doom,
Have room for nothing but the blow to come.

The end of our race is death : it is the necessary object of our view, which if it frights us, how is it possible we should advance a step, without a fit of an ague? the remedy which the vulgar use is not to think of it : but from what brutish stupidity can they be so grossly blind? they must bridle the ass by the tail.

Qui capite ispe suo instituit vestigia retro §.

He who the order of his steps has laid,
To light, and nat'ral motion retrograde.

* Cic. de Finib. lib. i. cap. 18.

‡ Claud. lib. ii. v. 137, 138.

† Hor. lib. iii. ode i. ver. 18, &c.

§ Lucret. lib. iv. v. 474.

It is no wonder if he be often taken in the snare. Our people are frightened at the bare mention of death, and many cross themselves at it, as if it were the name of the devil. Because there is mention made of death in last-wills and testaments, you are not to expect they will set their hands to them till the physician has utterly given them over: and then, betwixt grief and terror, what excellent judgment they have to carve for you, God only knows! The Romans, observing that this monosyllable, death, was very shocking to the people's ears, and that they thought it an ominous sound, found out a way to soften it, and to express it periphrastically, and instead of saying, in plain terms, such a one is dead, to say, such a one has lived, or has ceased to live: for if the word life was but mentioned, though past, yet it was some comfort. From hence we have borrowed our phrase, The late Mr. John, &c. Peradventure, as the saying is, If the term is worth my money *. I was born betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock at noon, on the last day of February, 1533, as we now compute, beginning the year with January, and it is now just a fortnight since I was complete thirty-nine years of age. It is not certain, at least, but I may live as many more; yet not to think of a thing so remote, would be folly. For why? the young and the old quit life upon the same terms, and no one departs out of it, otherwise than if he had but just before entered into it; moreover, there is no man so very old, who thinks of Methusalem, but imagines he has still a constitution for twenty years longer. But, thou fool! who has insured, or rather assured, unto thee the term of thy life? thou believest what the physicians say; but rather consult fact and experience. According to the common course of things, it is an extraordinary favour thou hast lived so long. Thou hast already exceeded the ordinary term of life; and that thou mayst be convinced of this, do but

* This proverb is mostly used by such, as having borrowed money for a long term, take no care for the payment, flattering themselves that something will happen, in the mean time, for their benefit or discharge.

call to mind thy acquaintance, and reckon up how many more have died before they arrived at thy age, than ever attained to it. Do but make a register of such, even whose lives have been distinguished with fame, and I will lay a wager, that more have died under thirty-five years of age than above it. It is highly rational, and pious too, to take example by the human existence of JESUS CHRIST himself, who ended his life at thirty-three years of age. The greatest man too that ever was, of mere men, viz. Alexander, died also at the same age. How many ways has Death to surprize us?

*Quid quisque videt, nunquam homini satis.
Cautum est in horas * i. e.*

What men should shun is never known,
We, unprovided, are undone.

Or,

Man fain would shun, but 'tis not in his pow'r
T' evade the dangers of each threat'ning hour.

To omit fevers and pleurifies, who would ever have imagined, that a duke of Brittany should be pressed to death in a crowd, as one was in 1305, in the reign of Philip the Fair, at pope Clement's entry into Lyons? Have we not seen one of our kings † killed at his diversion, and one of his ancestors die by being pushed down by a hog ‡? Æschylus being threatened by the fall of a house, ran out of it into the fields, where he was knocked on the head by a shell-fish which an eagle dropped from its talons §. Another, viz. Anacreon, was choaked with a grape stone ||; an emperor died by the scratch of a comb, in combing his head ¶. Æmilius Lepidus lost his life by a stumble at his own threshold; and Aufidius lost his life by a jostle against the door as he entered

* Horace, lib. ii. ode 13. ver. 13, 14.

† Henry II. (of France) mortally wounded in a tournament by the count de Montgomery, one of the captains of his guards.

‡ Philip, or, as some say, Lewis VII. son of Lewis le Gros, who was crowned in the life-time of his father.

§ Valerius Maximus, lib. ix. cap. 12. in externis, cap. 2.

|| Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 53. ¶ Ibid. sect. 8.

the council chamber *. Cornelius Gallus, the Prætor; Tigillinus, captain of the watch at Rome; Ludovico, son of Guido de Gonzaga, marquis of Mantua, died betwixt the very thighs of a woman. And a worse instance of this was, † Speusippus, a platonic philosopher, and one of our popes. The poor Judge Bebius, during the reprieve of eight days which he gave to a criminal, was himself seized, and lost his life ‡. Whilst Caius Julius, the physician, was anointing the eye of his patient, death closed his own §. And, to come nearer home, a brother of mine, captain St. Martin, who had already given sufficient proofs of his valour, tho' but three and twenty years of age, playing at tennis, received a blow from the ball, just above his right ear, which made no scar nor contusion, so that he did not so much as sit down, or rest himself upon it, yet in five or six hours after, he died of a apoplexy, occasioned by that stroke. These examples being, as we see, so frequent and common, how is it possible that a man can disengage himself from the thoughts of death, or avoid fancying, that it is ready every moment to take us by the collar? What does it signify, you will say, which way it comes to pass, provided a man does not torment himself with the apprehension of it? I am of this opinion, that if a man could by any means screen himself from it he would, though it were by a calf's skin. I am not the man that would flinch, for all I desire is to be composed, and the best recreation that I can give myself, I take hold of, be it as inglorious and unfashionable as you please.

— *pretulerim delirus inersque videri,
Dum mea delectant mala me, vel denique fallant,
Quam sapere, et ringi* ||. i. e.

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 53.

† Tertullian affirms this, but without much foundation. Audio, says he, in his Apologetic, cap. 46. that Speusippus, one of Plato's disciples, died while he was committing adultery. As to the death of Speusippus, Diogenes Laertius says, That, being shattered with a violent palsy, and broke down with the weight of old age and vexation, he at last put an end to his own life.

‡ Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 53.
sp. 2. ver. 126.

§ Ibid.

|| Hor. lib. ii.

I would be rather thought a doating wight,
 If may own errors my own self delight,
 Than know they're such, and owe myself a spight. }

Or,

A fool, or fluggard, let me censur'd be,
 Whilst my own faults delight or cozen me,
 Rather than know them such, and feel the shame,
 That my performances have hurt my fame.

But it is a folly to think of carrying the point by that means. People go and come; they gad abroad, and dance, and not a word of death. All this is fine; but when it comes, either to themselves, wives, children, or friends, surprizing them unawares, what torments do they feel, what outcries do they make, what madness and despair possess them! did ever you see any people so dejected, so changed, and so confounded? There is an absolute necessity therefore of making more early preparation for it. And we should pay too dear for the neglect, could any man be supposed so void of sense as to be guilty of it, which I think utterly impossible. Were it an enemy that a man could escape from, I would advise him to borrow the armour even of cowardice itself for that purpose; but, seeing it is not to be avoided, and that it catches the runaway and the poltron, as well as the gallant man,

*Mors et fugacem persequitur virum,
 Nec parcat imbellis juventæ
 Poplitibus, timidoque tergo* *. i. e.

No speed of foot prevents death of his prize,
 He cuts the hamstrings of the man that flies;
 Nor spares the fearful stripling's back, who starts
 To run beyond the reach of all its darts.

Forasmuch also as there is no armour proof enough to secure us,

*Ille licit ferro, cautus se condat, Et ære
 Mors tamen inclusum protrahet inde caput* †. i. e.

* Hor. lib. iii. ode 2. ver. 14, &c,
 ver. 25, 26.

† Propert. lib. iii. eleg. 13.

Tho' arm'd with steel, or brass, against his fate,
Death will his soul and body separate.

let us learn bravely to stand our ground against its attack : and that we may, in the first place, deprive it of the greatest advantage it has over us, let us take a course quite contrary to the common way. Let us disarm it of its strangeness ; let us converse and be familiar with it, and have nothing so frequent in our thoughts as death ; let us, at every turn, represent it to our imagination, and view it in all aspects. At the stumbling of a horse, at the fall of a tile upon our heads, or the least prick of a pin, let us make this reflection at the very instant, Well, and what if it had been death itself ? And thereupon let us harden and fortify ourselves. Amidst all our feasting and jollity, let us evermore curb ourselves with the remembrance of our condition, and not suffer ourselves to be so far transported with pleasure, as to forget how many ways this merriment of ours exposes us to death, and with how many dangers it threatens us. This was the practice of the Egyptians, who, in the height of their feasting and carousals, caused the dried skeleton of a man to brought into the room, to serve for a memento to their guests *.

*Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum,
Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur hora.* † i. e.

Think ev'ry rising sun will be thy last ;
And then the next day's light thine eyes shall see,
As unexpected, will more welcome be.

Where death waits for us, is uncertain ; therefore let us look for it every where. The premeditation of death is the premeditation of liberty. He who has learnt to die, has forgot what it is to be a slave. There is no such thing as evil in life to him, who rightly comprehends, that the being deprived of life is not an evil. The knowing how to die, frees us from all subjection and constraint. When the unhappy king of Macedon, who

* Herodotus, lib. ii. p. 133.

† Hor. lib. i. epist. 4. ver. 13, 14.

was Paulus Æmilius's prisoner, sent to intreat him that he would not lead him in triumph, the latter made answer, that truly is in your own power *. In truth, if nature does not lend a little assistance in all things, it will be difficult for art and industry to make any progress. I am myself not melancholy, but thoughtful, and there is nothing which I have more frequently entertained myself with, than the ideas of death, even in the most licentious season of my life, in the pleasant spring of florid age.

Jucundum cum ætas florida vir agere †.

In the company of ladies, and in the height of play, some have, perhaps, thought me brooding upon jealousy, or on the uncertainty of some hope, while I was entertaining myself with the remembrance of some person who was lately surpris'd with a fever which carried him off after an entertainment like this, when his head was full of idle fancies, love, and jollity, as mine was then, and that therefore I had the more to answer for.

Jam fuerit, nec post unquam revocare licebit ‡. i. e.

Ere while he had a being amongst men,
Now gone, and ne'er to be recall'd again.

Yet that thought did not add a wrinkle to my forehead more than any other. It is impossible but such imaginations must, at their first conception, sting us; but by often revolving them in our minds, and making them familiar to us, they are sure at the long-run to lose their sting: otherwise, for my part, I should have been in a perpetual fright and frenzy; for never was a man so distrustful of his life, never man so indifferent about its duration. Neither the health which I have hitherto enjoyed with great vigour, and with little interruption, prolongs, nor does sickness contract my hopes of life. Methinks, I have an escape every minute, and it eternally runs in my mind, whatever may fall out another

* Plutarch in the Life of Æmilius, ch. 17. of Amyot's translation.
Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 40.

† Catullus, ep. 66. ver. 16.

‡ Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 928.

day, may as well happen to-day. Hazards and dangers do, in truth, little or nothing hasten our end; and if we consider how many more remain and hang over our heads, besides the accident that seems to threaten us immediately, we shall find that the sound and the sick, those who are at sea, and those who are at land, those who are abroad in the wars, and those who enjoy tranquillity at home, are the one as near death as the other. No man is more frail than the other, nor more certain of the morrow †. For any thing I have to do before I die, I should think the longest leisure short to finish it, if it took but an hour's time. A certain person, the other day, looking into my table book, wondered to find a memorandum in it of something that I would have done after my death; upon which I told him the real truth, that though I was no more than a league from my house, and at that time in good health and spirits, yet when that thing came into my head, I made haste to write it down there, because I was not certain to live to get home. As I am a man that am continually brooding over my own thoughts, and keep them close to myself, I am prepared, at all hours, for what may happen, and the approach of death will be no novelty to me. We should always, as far as possible, be bootied, and ready to depart; and be careful, above all things, to have no business to do then but our own.

*Quid brevi fortes jaculamur ævo
Multa ‡ ? i. e.*

Why cut'st thou out such mighty work, vain man,
Whose life's short date's compriz'd in one short span?

For we shall find work enough to do there without any addition. One man complains the more of death, because it stops his career to a glorious victory; another, that he must be snatched away before he has married his daughter, or made a settlement on his young children;

† Seneca. ep. 9. ‡ Horace, ode 16. lib. ii. ver. 17, 18.

a third laments, that he must part from his dear wife ; a fourth, that he must leave his son : as if these were the chief comforts of life. For my part, I am at this instant, thanks be to God, in such a state, that I am ready to quit my being, whenever it shall please him, without any manner of regret. I am quite disengaged from the world ; my leave is soon taken of all but myself. Never was any man prepared to bid adieu to the world, absolutely and purely, nor did any one ever quit his hold of it more universally than I hope to do. The dearest deaths are the best *.

—— *miser, O miser (aiunt) omnia ademit
Una dies infesta mihi tot præmia vitæ †. i. e.*

Wretch that I am (they cry) one fatal day
So many joys of life has snatch'd away.

And the builder,

—— *manent (ait ille) opera interrupta, minæque
Murorum ingentes, æquataque machina cælo ‡.*

Stupendous piles (says he) unfinish'd lie,
And tow'rs, whose summits touch the vaulted sky.

A man must form no design that will take so much time to finish it, or that at least he will be so passionately desirous of seeing brought to a conclusion. We are born for action.

Cum moriar, medium solvar et inter opus §. i. e.

When death shall come, it me will find
Employ'd in something I design'd.

I would always have a man to be doing, and spinning out the offices of life as far as possible ; and that, though

* Death is here considered as the introduction, and actual passage to a state of insensibility, which puts a period to our life. The more silently and rapidly we arrive to that state, the less ought the passage to terrify us. This comes up very near to the import of that bold and ænigmatical expression of Montaigne, viz. " That the dearest deaths are the best."

† Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 911, 912. ‡ Virg. *Æneid.* lib. iv. ver. 88, 89.

§ Ovid. *Amor.* lib. ii. eleg. 10. ver. 36.

death should seize me planting my cabbages; I should not be concerned at it, and much less for leaving my garden unfinished: I know one who, on his death-bed, complained incessantly of his destiny for cutting off the thread of a Chronicle he was then compiling, when he was advanced no farther than the fifteenth or sixteenth of our kings;

*Illud in his rebus non addunt, nec tibi earum
Jam desiderium rerum, superinfidet una* *. i. e.

They tell us not, that dying we've no more
The same desire of things as heretofore.

We are to divest ourselves of these vulgar and noxious humours. To this very purpose it was, said Lycurgus, that men appointed their burial-places nigh the churches, to accustom the common people, women and children, so much to the view of the dead bodies, that they might not be startled, and to the end that the continual sight of bones, graves, and funerals, might put us in mind of our mortality.

*Quin etiam exhilarare viris convivio cæde
Mos olim, et miscere epulis spectacula dira
Certatum ferro, sæpe et super ipsa cadentum
Pocula, respersis non parco sanguine mensis* †. i. e.

'Twas therefore that the ancients, at their feasts,
With tragic slaughter us'd to treat their guests;
Making their fencers with their utmost spite,
Skill, force, and fury, in their presence fight:
'Till streams of blood o'erflow'd the spacious hall,
Staining their tables, drinking-cups, and all.

As the Egyptians, after their feasts, presented their company with an image of death, which was brought in by one that cried out to them, Drink and be merry, for such wilt thou be when thou art dead; so have I made it a practice, not only to have death in my imagination, but continually in my mouth; and there is nothing of

* Lucret lib. iii. ver. 923, 924, † Sil. Ital. lib. xi. ver. 51, &c.

which I am so inquisitive as the manner of men's deaths, their dying words, looks, and deportment; nor is there any passage in history that takes up so much of my attention; and it is manifest, by many instances of this kind, which I have mentioned, that I have a particular fancy for this subject. If I was a writer of books, I would compile a register of the various deaths of people, with notes, which would be of use for instructing men both to live and die. Dicaearchus made one to which he gave that title, but it had another view, that was not so profitable †.

That it is of advantage to think of death beforehand.

It will, perhaps, be objected by some, that the circumstances of dying so far exceed all manner of conception, that the best fencer will be quite off his guard when it comes to that push. Let them say what they will, premeditation is of great benefit; and, besides, is it nothing to proceed so far at least without any disturbance and tremor? but, moreover, nature itself assists us in the encounter. If the death be sudden and violent, we have no time for fear. I perceive that the longer a distemper holds me, I naturally contract a certain disgust of life. I find it much more difficult to digest this resolution of dying when I am in health, than when I am sick of a fever. The less I am attached to the comforts of life, by my beginning to lose the use and pleasure of them, the aspect of death becomes the less terrible to me; which gives me hope, that the farther I remove from the former, and the nearer I approach to the latter, the more easily I shall compound for the exchange. I have experienced in many other occurrences, that, as Cæsar says, things often appear to us greater at a distance than near at hand; and have found, that when I was in health, I have held diseases in much greater horror than when I have felt them. The alacrity, pleasure, and vigour I now enjoy, represent the contrary estate to me in so great a disproportion to my present condition, that, in my imagination, I swell these inconveniences to twice

† Cic. Offic. lib. ii. cap. 5.

their magnitude, thinking them more weighty than I find them to be in reality when I labour under them; and I hope to find the case the same with respect to death. Let us but observe, in the ordinary changes and declensions which we suffer, how nature steals from us the sight of our bodily decay. What remains to an old man of the vigour of his youth and maturer age?

*Heu senibus vitæ portio quanta manet * ?*

Alas! how small a part of life's short stage,
Remains for travellers advanc'd in age !

A veteran soldier of Cæsar's guards, who was quite jaded and bowed down with age, coming to ask him leave that he might dispatch himself; Cæsar, observing his decrepidness and his long beard that hung down to his breast, answered pleasantly, thou fanciest then that thou art still alive † ? Should a man fall into old-age on a sudden, I do not think he would be capable of enduring such a change; but, being led by the hand of nature, as it were, by a gradual and insensible descent, it rolls us gently into that miserable state, and familiarizes it to us, so that when youth dies in us, we feel no shock, though it is in fact a harder death than the total dissolution of a languishing life, and than the death of old-age; forasmuch as the leap from an uneasy existence to a non-existence is not so disagreeable, as from a sprightly, florid state of existence, to one that is full of pain and anguish. The body, when bent, has less strength to sustain a burden, and the case is the same with the soul; it is absolutely necessary, therefore, that she should be raised up firm and erect against the power of this adversary. For as it is impossible she should be in tranquility while in fear, so if, on the other hand, she be composed, she may boast (which is a thing almost above the state of mortals) that no uneasiness, torment, and terror, nor the least disgust can affect her happiness.

Non vultus instantis tyranni

Mente quatit solida; neque Auster,

* Eleg. i. Maximiniani, cap. 6.

† Senec. Epist. 77.

Dux inquieti turbidus Adriæ;

Nec fulminantis magna Jovis manus *. i. e.

A soul well settled is not to be shook
With an incensed tyrant's threat'ning look.
It unconcern'd can hear the tempest roar,
And raging ocean lash the thund'ring shore.
Not the uplifted hand of mighty Jove,
Tho' charg'd with lightning, such a mind can move.

She is then become the mistress of her lusts and passions, the mistress of distress, shame, poverty and all the other injuries of fortune; let us therefore, as many of us as can, gain this advantage, which is the true and sovereign liberty that enables us to defy violence and injustice, and to despise prisons and chains.

— In manicis et

Compeditibus sævæ te sub custode tenebo.

Ipse Deus, simulatque volam, me solvet. Opinor;

Hoc sentit : moriar, Mors ultima linea rerum est †.

With bolts and chains I'll load thy feet and hands,
Doom'd to obey a goaler's stern commands.
Know, I the tyrant's utmost rage despise,
Propitious God will listen to my cries;
By death will free me, when with woes oppress'd,
And crown my sufferings with eternal rest.

Arguments a-
gainst the fear
of death.

Our religion itself has no surer human foundation than the contempt of life. Not only reason prompts us to it; for why should we fear to lose a thing, which, being lost, cannot be regretted? besides, since we are threatened with death of so many various kinds, is it not worse to fear them all, than to suffer one of them? And what matters it when it happens, since it is unavoidable? "Socrates being told, that the thirty tyrants had condemned him to die †;" "and so has nature them," said he. What a folly is it for us to afflict

* Hor. lib. iii. ode 3.

† Ibid. lib. i. ep. 16; ver. 76, &c.

† Socrates was not condemned to death by the thirty tyrants, but by the Athenians. Diogenes Laertius, lib. ii. segm. 35.

ourselves about a passage that exempts us from all trouble ! As our birth brought us the birth of all things, so when we die all things to us will be dead. Therefore, to lament that we shall not be alive a hundred years hence, is as absurd, as to be sorry that we were not in the land of the living a hundred years ago. Death is the beginning of another life. So did we weep, and so much it cost us to enter into this, and so did we put off our former veil, when we entered into the present state. Nothing can be a grievance that is but for once ; and is it reasonable to be so long in fear of a thing that is of so short a duration ? A long life, and a short, are by death made all one ; for there is no difference in things that are no more. Aristotle relates *, that there are certain litt'e beasts on the banks of the river Hypanis which live but one day, and that those of them which die at eight o'clock in the morning, die in their prime, and those that die at sun-set are in the age of decrepitude. Who of us would not be indifferent whether happiness or misery were the lot of a momentary existence ? Our's, be it more or less, if compared to eternity, or even to the duration of mountains, rivers, stars, trees, and even of some animals, is no less ridiculous.

Nay nature itself forces us to our dissolution ; “ Go out of this world, says Death is a part of the constitution of the universe.
“ she, as you came into it. By the same
“ passage that you came from death to life, without
“ passion or fear, go back from life to death.
“ Your death is a part of the constitution of the uni-
“ verse ; it is a part of the life of the world.

— *Inter se mortales mutua vivunt,*

Et quasi cursores vitæ lampada tradunt †.

Among themselves mankind alternate live,
And life's bright torch to the next runner give †.

* Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. lib. i. cap. 39. † Lucret. lib. ii. ver. 75, 78.

† This is an allusion to the Athenian Games, wherein those that ran a race carried torches in their hands ; which, when the race was over, they delivered into the hands of those that were to run next.

“ Shall I alter this excellent system of things for you ?
 “ It is the condition of your creation, death is a part of
 “ you, and whilst you endeavour to escape it, you fly
 “ from yourselves. This very being of your's that you
 “ now enjoy, is equally shared betwixt life and death,
 “ The day of your birth is one day's advance to death
 “ as well as life.

*Prima, quæ vitam dedit, hora carpsit *.*

Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet †.

The hour that first gave life its breath,

Was a whole hour's advance to death.

As we are born we die ; and our life's end

Upon our life's beginning does depend.

“ Every day you live you steal from life, and live at the
 “ expence of life itself. The perpetual work of your life
 “ is to build up death. You are in death while you live,
 “ because, when your life is ended you succeed to death ;
 “ Or, if you had rather have it so, you are dead after life,
 “ but dying all the time you live, and death handles the
 “ dying much more roughly, sharply, and more feeling-
 “ ly than the dead. If you have made your advantage
 “ of life, you have had enough of it, go away satisfied,

Cur non ut plenus vitæ conviva recedis ‡ ?

Why dost thou not retire, like to a guest,

Sated with life, as he is with a feast ?

“ If you have not known how to make the best use of it,
 “ and if it was unprofitable to you, why should you be
 “ loth to part with it ? To what end would you desire
 “ longer to keep it ?

——*cur amplius addere quæris*

Rursum quod pereat male et ingratum occidat omne ||.

And why, fond mortal, dost thou ask for more ?

Why still desire t' increase thy wretched store,

And wish for what must waste like those before ?

“ Life, in itself, is neither a good nor an evil ; but it is
 “ the scene of good or evil, as you make it ; and if you

* Senec. Hercul. chor. 3. ver. 45.

† Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 951.

‡ Manil. lib. iv. ver. 16.

|| Ibid. lib. iii. ver. 954, 955.

“ have lived a day you have seen all ; one day is like all
 “ others. There is no other light, no other sight ; this
 “ very sun, this moon, these very stars, the present system
 “ of things is the very same that your ancestors enjoyed,
 “ and the same that will entertain your latest posterity.

*Non alium videre patres, aliumve nepotes
 Aspiciunt*.*

Your grandfathers saw no other things of old,
 Nor shall your grandsons other things behold.

“ And come the worst that can come, the distribution
 “ and variety of all the acts of my comedy are perform-
 “ ed in a year. If you have attended to the succession
 “ of my four seasons, they comprehend the infancy,
 “ youth, virility, and old-age of the world. The year
 “ has played its part, and has no new scene, but will
 “ always be a repetition of the same thing.

Versamur ibidem, atque insumus usque †. i. e.

We yearly tread but one perpetual round,
 We ne'er strike out, but beat the former ground.

Atque in se sua per vestigia volvitur annus ‡. i. e.

And the year rolls within itself again.

“ I am not determined, continues Nature, to contribute
 “ any new recreations for you.

*Nam tibi præterea quod machiner, inveniamque
 Quod placet nihil est ; eadem sunt omnia semper ||. i. e.*

More pleasures than are made I cannot frame,
 For to all times all things will be the same.

“ Make room for others, as others have done for you.
 “ Equality is the soul of equity §. Who can complain
 “ of being under the same destiny with all his fellow-
 “ creatures? Besides, live as long as you can, you will
 “ thereby not at all shorten the space of time that you
 “ are to lie dead in the grave ; it is all to no purpose :
 “ you will be every whit as long in that situation which
 “ you so much dread, as if you had died at the breast.

* Manilius, lib. i. ver. 521, 522.

† Virg. Geo. lib. ii. ver. 402.

‡ Senec. Epist. 30.

† Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 1093.

|| Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 957, 958.

—*licet quot vis vivendo vincere secla,
Mors æterna tamen, nihilominus illa manebit* *. i. e.
For though thy life should numerous ages fill,
The state of death will be eternal still.

“ And yet I will place you in such a condition as you
“ shall not be dissatisfied with ;

*In vera nescis nullum fore morte alium te
Qui possit vivus tibi te lugere peremptum,
Stansque jacentem* †. i. e.

When dead, a living self thou canst not have,
Or to lament or trample on thy grave.

“ Nor shall you so much as wish for the life you are so
“ much concerned for.

Nec sibi enim quisquam tum se vitamque requirit,

Nec desiderium nostri nos afficit ullum ‡. i. e.

Life, not ourselves we wish in that estate,
Nor once about ourselves deliberate.

“ Death is less to be feared than nothing, if there was
“ any thing less than nothing.

—*multo mortem minus ad nos esse putandum,
Si minus esse potest quam quod nihil esse videmus* §. i. e.

If less than nothing all the world can show,
Death would appear to us, and would be so.

“ Neither can it any way concern you, whether living or
“ dead : Not living, because you still exist ; nor dead,
“ because you are no more. Moreover, no one dies be-
“ fore his hour ; and the time you leave behind was no
“ more your's, than that which was past and gone before
“ you was born ; nor does it any more concern you.

*Respice enim quam nil ad nos anteacla vetustas
Temporis æterni fuerit* §. i. e.

Look back, and tho' times past eternal were,
In those before us yet we had no share.

* Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 1103, 1104.

† Ib. ver. 932, 935. § Id. ibid.

‡ Ib. ver. 898.

§ Id. ver. 985, 986.

“ Let your life end where, or when it will, it is all included in eternity. The benefit of life consists not in the space, but the use of it. Such a one may have lived a long time, who yet may be said to have enjoyed but a short life. Give attention to time while it is present with you. It depends upon your will, and not upon the number of years, that you have lived long enough. Do you think never to arrive at the place towards which you are continually going? And yet there is no road but hath its end. And if company will make it more pleasant, does not all the world go the self-same way as you do?

—*omnia te vita perfundata sequuntur* *. i. e.

All the world in death must follow thee.

“ Does not all the world dance the same brawl that you do? Is there any thing that does not grow old as well as you? A thousand men, a thousand animals, and a thousand other creatures die at the same instant that you expire.

*Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora secuta est,
Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris
Ploratus, mortis comites, et funeris atri †.*

No night succeeds the day, nor morning's light
Succeeds to drive away the shades of night,
Wherein there are not heard the dismal groans
Of dying men mix'd with the woful moans
Of living friends, as also with the cries,
And dirges fitting funeral obsequies.

“ To what end do you endeavour to avoid death, unless it was possible for you to evade it? You have seen instances enough of those to whom it has been welcome, as it has put an end to their great misery. Have you talked with any to whom it has therefore been unwelcome? It is very foolish to condemn a thing which you have not experienced, neither yourself, nor in the person of any other. Why (says Nature) dost thou complain of me and destiny? Do we wrong thee? Is it for thee to govern us, or for us to dispose of thee?

* Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 981.

† Ibid. lib. ii. ver. 579, 580.

“ Though thy age may not be accomplished, yet thy
 “ life is. A little man is as entirely a man as a giant;
 “ neither men nor their lives are measur-
 Immortality re- fused by Chi- “ ed by the yard. Chiron refused to be
 ron, and why. “ immortal, when he was acquainted with
 “ the terms upon which he was to enjoy it, by his father
 “ Saturn, the very god of time, and its duration. Do
 “ but seriously consider, how much more intolerable and
 “ painful a life would be, which was to last for ever,
 “ than that which I have given thee. If death was not
 “ to be your lot, you would eternally curse me for hav-
 “ ing deprived you of it. I have, it is true, mixed a lit-
 “ tle bitterness with it, to the end, that when you have
 “ perceived the conveniency of it, you might not em-
 “ brace it too greedily and indiscreetly : and that you
 “ might be established in this moderation which I require
 “ of you, neither to fly from life nor death, I have tem-
 “ pered both with bitter and sweet. I taught Thales,
 “ the chief of all your sages, that either life or death was
 “ indifferent ; so that, when one asked him, “ Why then
 “ did he not die ?” he answered very wisely, “ because
 “ it was a matter of indifference.” Water, earth, air,
 “ and fire, and the other members of this my structure,
 “ are no more the instruments of thy life than of thy
 “ death *. Why art thou afraid of thy last day, which
 “ conduces no more to thy dissolution than any before it.
 “ The last step is not the cause of lassitude, but only the
 “ discovery of it. Every day travels towards death, thy
 “ last only arrives at it.” Thus far the good lessons of
 our mother Nature.

Why death ap-
 pears to us less
 dreadful in the
 field of battle
 than in our own
 houses.

I have often considered with myself
 whence it should proceed, that, in the field
 of battle, the image of death, whether
 we view it in our own danger of it, or in
 that of others, is not near so dreadful as
 in our own houses, (which if it were not fact, they would
 be a pack of whining milk-sops) and that though death
 has always the same aspect, yet it meets with more cou-
 rage in peasants, and men of low rank, than in others.

I really believe, that the dismal air and apparatus with which we set it out, terrifies us more than the thing itself. A new manner of life quite contrary to the former; the cries of mothers, wives, and children; the visits of astonished, afflicted friends; the attendance of pale and blubbering servants; a dark room with burning wax tapers in it; our beds surrounded with physicians and parsons; in short, nothing but ghastliness and horror about us, make men fancy themselves already dead and buried*. "Children are afraid of their very friends when they see them masked, and so are we ourselves. The vizard must be taken off as well from things as persons." When that is removed, we shall find nothing underneath but the very same death which a footman or a chambermaid suffered the other day without any fear. Happy therefore is that death which does not give time to make such a pompous apparatus.

C H A P. XX.

Of the Power of Imagination.

Fortis imaginatio generalis casum; a strong imagination begets accidents, says the schoolmen. I am one of those who are sensible of the very great power of imagination. Every one is jostled, and some are overthrown by it. Its impression pierces me, and for want of strength to resist it, I have no recourse to art to escape it. The company of those that are healthy and chearful is all that I wish for. The very sight of another person's anguish gives me sensible uneasiness, and I often sympathize with a third person. A perpetual cough in another, tickles my lungs and throat. I more unwillingly visit the sick; to whom I am in duty bound, than those for whom I have less concern and regard. I contract the disease which ingrosses my attention; nor do I at all wonder that fancy should occasion fevers, and sometimes death,

Of the effects of imagination.

to those who give way to its extravagancies. Simon Thomas was a great physician of his time: I remember, that meeting me one day at Tholouse, at the house of a rich old man, who was troubled with bad lungs, and consulting him about the cure, he told his patient, that one thing would conduce to it, namely, to give me some cause to be fond of his company; and that by fixing his eyes on the freshness of my complexion, and his imagination upon the abundant sprightliness and vigour of my youth, and possessing all his senses with that florid state of body which I then enjoyed, his constitution might be the better for it; but he forgot to say that I might happen to be the worse for it. Gallus Vibius so long cudgelled his brains * to find out the essence of madness, that his judgment became affected. Some there are, who, through fear, save the hangman a labour; and there was a man, whose eyes being unbound to have his pardon read to him, was found dead upon the scaffold, through the mere force of his imagination. We start, tremble, turn pale, and blush by the shocks of our imagination; and when covered over head and ears in bed, feel our bodies agitated with its power to a such a degree, that some have thereby expired. So warm is the imagination of youth, even when fast asleep, as to satisfy their amorous desires in a dream; which Lucretius expresses a little too nakedly in the following distich, viz.

*Ut quasi transactis sæpe omnibus rebus, profundant
Fluminis ingentes fluctus vestemque cruentent †. i. e.*

Who love enjoys in sleep, his inflam'd mind
Lays his love's tribute where 'twas not design'd.

Although it be no new thing to see horns grafted in the morning on the head of a person that had none when

* Seneca, the rhetorician, from whom Montaigne must have taken this story, does not say that Gallus Vibius lost his reason by endeavouring to comprehend the essence of madness, but by too studious an application to imitate its motions. As this Gallus was a rhetorician by profession, he imagined that the transports of madness represented lively in dialogue, would charm his audience, and took so much pains to play the madman in jest, that he became so in earnest. He is the only man I ever knew, says Seneca, that became mad, not by accident, but by an act of judgment. Controvers. 9. lib. ii.

† Lucr. lib. ix. ver. 1029, 1030.

He went to bed, yet memorable is what befel Cyppus, a noble Roman, who having one day been with great delight a spectator of a bull-fight, and having all night long dreamt that he had horns on his head, his forehead produced them in reality next morning by the force of imagination *. It was downright passion that made Croesus's son speak, who was born dumb †. Antiochus caught a fever by being too deeply impressed with the beauty of Stratonice. Pliny says, in his Natural History, lib. vii. cap. 4. that he saw Lucius Crofficius, who from a woman was turned into a man upon her very wedding day. Pontanus and others relate the like metamorphoses that have happened in these latter ages in Italy. And through the vehement desire of him and his mother,

The story of the goddess Lyra, in Lucian.

Vota puer solvit, quæ femina voverat, Iphis ‡. i. e.

Iphis, a boy, the vow defray'd

That he had promis'd when a maid.

I myself, as I pass'd through Vitry le François, a town in Champagne, saw a man, whom the bishop of Soissons confirm'd by the name of German, whom all the inhabitants of the place had known and seen to be a girl by the name of Mary to the age of twenty-two. When I saw him he had a very bushy beard, was old, and not married. He told us, that by straining himself in a leap, his virile member came out; and the young women of the place have a song to this day, wherein they caution one another not to take too large strides, for fear of being turned into men, as Mary German was. It is no such wonder if this should often happen; for if imagination has any power in such things, it is so continually, and so vigorously attached to this subject, that, to the end it may not so often relapse into the same thought and eager-

* Pliny puts this story in the same class as that of Actæon, and supposes both to be fabulous. Nat. Hist. lib. xi. cap. 45. Valerius Maximus gives this Cyppus the title of prætor, and says, that as he departed from Rome, in the habit of a general, and the accident which Montaigne speaks of here happening to him, the diviners declared, that Cyppus would be a king if he returned to Rome; whereupon he voluntarily condemn'd himself to perpetual exile, in order to prevent it. Valer. Max. lib. v. cap. 6.

† Herodot. lib. i. pag. 39.

‡ Ovid. Metam. lib. ix. fab. 12. ver. 129. nefs.

ness of desire, it were better to * incorporate this virile part into the girls once for all.

The strange effects of imagination.

Some attribute the scars of king Dagobert and St. Francis to the force of imagination. It is said, that bodies are sometimes removed by it out of their places. Celsus tells us of a priest, whose soul was in such an extatic rapture, that the body remained for a long time without sense and respiration. St. Austin mentions another, who, if he did but hear any lamentable or doleful cries, would fall suddenly into a swoon, and so profound a lethargy, that it was to no purpose to bawl in his ears, shake, pinch, or scorch him, till he came to himself; then he said, he had heard voices, as it were afar off, and felt when they scorched and pinched him: and that this was not a dissembled obstinacy in defiance of his sense of feeling, was plain, because he had all the while neither pulse nor breathing.

Why such credit is given to visions, enchantments, &c.

It is very probable, that the credit of visions, enchantments, and such extraordinary effects, is principally derived from the power of imagination, which makes the greatest impression upon the more credulous minds of the vulgar, who are very apt to believe they see what they do not.

From whence proceeds the hindrance of exertion.

I am also in some doubt whether those pleasant ligatures with which this age of ours is so hampered, that scarce any thing else is talked of, are not the voluntary impressions of apprehension and fear. For I know by experience, that a certain man, whom I can answer for as well as for myself, and one who can by no means be suspected of impotency, and as little of being under a spell, who having heard a companion of his tell a story of an extraordinary disability that seized him at a very unreasonable time, being after-

* A false and extravagant thought this. I am not at all surprised that Montaigne came to be possessed with it, for who does not dream sometimes when he is awake; but what I wonder at is, how he could determine to make use of it.

wards

wards in the like engagement, the horror of the relation so roughly shocked his imagination all on a sudden, that he met with the same fate as the other had done; and for that time forward was subject to relapse into it, the remembrance of his disaster curbing and tyrannizing over him. He found some remedy however for this idle fancy by another, namely, by his own frank confession, and previous declaration of his infirmity to the party with whom he was to do, whereby the contention of his soul was in some sort appeased; because knowing that now nothing better was expected from him, his obligation was the less, and he suffered the less by it, when he was free at his choice (his thought being disintangled and at liberty, and his body in its proper state) he caused the part to be handled, and was perfectly cured. After a man has once given proof of his capacity, he is never after in danger of non-performance, unless upon the account of real weakness. Neither is this disaster to be feared, but in adventures where the soul is extended beyond measure with desire and respect, and especially where opportunities call out that are urgent and unforeseen. There is no way of recovery from this trouble; and yet I have known some who have found their account by coming, after being half-sated elsewhere, purposely to cool the heat of their fury; and some who through age find themselves impotent by being less able. And I knew another who was made easy, by being assured that a friend of his had a counter-battery of certain charms to preserve him. The story is worth telling.

A count of a great family, with whom I was very intimate, being married to a fair lady, who had been courted by one of the guests at her wedding; all his friends, especially an old lady, his kinswoman, who had the direction of the marriage-feast, and at whose house it was kept, were in great fear that there would be some forcery in the case, and she communicated her apprehension to me. I desired her to rely upon my care. I had, by chance, in my possession a small plate

A pleasant remedy for curing an evil in the imagination.

of gold, whereon was engraved some of the celestial signs, which was good to prevent the brain-pan from being scorched by the heat of the sun, and to remove the headach, if it was applied exactly to the future of the skull; and in order to keep it firm, a ribbon was tacked to it, so as to be tied under the chin; a piece of quackery, cousin-german to what we are now speaking of. I had this singular present from James Pellatier, who lived with me, and having a mind to make an experiment with it, I told the count that he might possibly have the same trick put upon him as had been played with some other bridegrooms, some persons being in the house who certainly intended to do him such an ill office; but I advised him to go boldly to bed, when I would do him the office of a friend; and, if need required, would not spare to work a miracle that was in my power, provided he would assure me upon his honour to keep it an entire secret. All that he had to do was in the night, when they came to bring him his caudle, if matters had not gone well with him, to give me a sign. His ears had been so dinned, and his mind so prepossessed, that he found his imagination really disturbed, and therefore, at the time agreed on, he gave me the sign. I then whispered him, that he should get out of bed, under pretence of putting us out of the chamber, and that taking off my night-gown, as it were in a frolick (we being much of a size) should put it on himself, and keep it on till he had done what I ordered him; which was, that when we were gone out of the room, he should retire to make water, repeat certain words three times, and make certain motions; that at each time he should tie the ribband I put into his hands about his waist, and place the medal that was appendant to it (the figures in such a position) very carefully upon his kidneys; which being done, and having, at the last of the three times, so well fastened the ribband, that it could neither unloose, nor slip from its place, he might securely renew his attack, not forgetting to spread my night-gown on his bed in such a manner that it might cover them both.

In these tricks the effect chiefly consists, our fancy being seduced to think that such strange formalities must proceed from some occult science. Their insignificance really gives them weight and reverence. Upon the whole, it was certain that my characters were more Venerean than Solar, and consisted more in action than prohibition. It was indeed a sudden whim, mixed with a little curiosity, that prompted me to do a thing to which I have by nature an aversion; for I am an enemy to all subtle and sham performances, and wash my hands of all finesse, whether it be for pleasure or profit; for if the action be not vicious, the manner of it is. Amasis, king of Egypt, married Laodicea, a very beautiful Greek virgin; and though he was a man of approved gallantry to all others, yet he could by no means enjoy her, so that he threatened to kill her, on a suspicion that she was a witch. As it is usual with fancy, it put him upon devotion, and having made his vows and promises * to Venus, he found his strength divinely repaired the very first night after his oblations and sacrifices. Now, in plain truth, women are to blame for putting on those disdainful, coy, and angry countenances, which extinguishes the vigour of the men, as it kindles their desire. It was a saying of the daughter-in-law of Pythagoras †, That “the woman who goes to bed with a man, must put off her modesty with her petticoat, and with the same put it on again ‡.” The assailant being disturbed in mind with a variety of alarms is easily dispirited; and whoever has been once thus mortified by the mere force of imagination, (a mortification which it never gives but at the first congress, because that is the most

* Herodotus lib. ii. p. 180. says, that it was not Amasis, but Laodicea, or Ladice, who faithfully performed a vow she had made to Venus, by erecting a statue to her, which, said he, was still standing in my time.

† Diog. Laert. in the Life of Pythagoras, lib. viii. segm. 43.

‡ Montaigne here mentions Theano, the famous Pythagorean woman, who was the wife, and not the daughter-in-law of Pythagoras. See Diogenes Laertius in the Life of Pythagoras. lib. viii. segm. 42. It is M. Menage who has taken notice of this small mistake of Montaigne. Diogenes Laertius, tom. xxxv. p. 500. col. 2.

ardent and eager, and because also, at this first trial, a man is most timorous of miscarrying) whoever, I say, has made a bad beginning, he becomes angry and peevish at the accident, which will be apt to stick to him upon future occasions.

How married
Men ought to
behave in the
nuptial bed.

As for married men, whose time is all their own, they ought neither to be too hasty, nor so much as to attempt the feat, if they are not prepared. And it were better to fail in the decorum of handselling the nuptial sheets, when a man is full of agitation and trembling, and to wait another opportunity, at a more private and tranquil juncture, than to make himself perpetually miserable, by being confounded and enraged for being baffled at the first attack. 'Till possession be taken, a man, subject to this infirmity, should leisurely, and by degrees, make several slight trials and offers, without provoking himself, and striving against the grain, in order to be fully convinced in his own mind of his ability. Such as know their members to be naturally obedient to their desires, need only be careful to counterplot their fancy.

If one Member
is disobedient,
others are the
same.

The indocile liberty of this member is sufficiently remarkable, by its importunate demand when we have nothing for it to do, and by so imperiously disputing the authority with our will, and with so much pride and obstinacy denying all solicitations both manual and mental. And yet though its rebellion is so insolent as to give sufficient proof to condemn it, if I were free to plead its cause, I should perhaps bring its fellow-members into a suspicion of contriving this mischief against it underhand, out of pure envy at the importance and ravishing delight peculiar to its employment, and of arming mankind against it by malevolently charging it alone with their common offence. For I leave it to be considered, whether there is any one part of our bodies which does not often refuse to operate as we would have it, and often exercise its function in opposition to the will. They have every one of them proper passions of their own that
awake

awake or stupify them without our leave. How often do the involuntary motions of the countenance discover our secret thoughts, and betray us to by-standers? The same cause that animates this member, does also, without our perceiving it, animate the heart, lungs, and pulse, the very sight of an agreeable object imperceptibly inflaming us with a feverish disorder. Is it those veins and muscles only that swell and flag without the approbation, not only of our will, but of our opinion? We do not command our hairs to stand on end, nor our flesh to tremble, with desire or fear. The hand often conveys itself to parts which we do not direct it. The tongue falters, and the voice is sometimes interrupted when we cannot help it. When we have nothing to eat, and would willingly allay the appetite both of eating and drinking, it nevertheless provokes the parts that are susceptible of it, and abandons us in like manner, and as unseasonably, as the other appetite of which we have been speaking. The vessels that serve to discharge the belly have their proper dilatations and compressions without and beyond our direction, as well as those which are destined for evacuating the reins. And that which for justifying the prerogative of our will is urged by St. Augustin, viz. That he had seen a man who * could command his backside to discharge as many f—ts as he pleased, and which Vives illustrated by another example in his time, of one that could let them off in tune, does not suppose that part to be any more obedient than the others; for is any thing commonly more noisy or indiscreet? To which let me add, that I myself knew one so turbulent and refractory that way, that for forty years together made his master-vent with one continued explosion without intermission. I could heartily wish, that I only knew by reading, how oft a man's belly, by the smothering of

* Some, without any shame, utter such a variety of sounds from their fundaments at their will, as if they seemed to sing from that part. Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. xiv. cap. 24. To which Vives adds, by way of commentary, 'Such was, in our time, a certain German in the retinue of Maximilian the emperor, and his son Philip; nor was there any tune which he could not imitate with his immodest f—ts.'

one single f—t has brought him to the very door of a tormenting death ; and that the emperor † who gave liberty to f—t any where, had at the same time given us the power of doing it. But as to our will, for the sake of whose prerogatives we prefer this accusation, with how much greater probability might we not reproach it with rebellion and sedition, by its irregularity and disobedience ? Does it always operate as we would have it ? Does it not often will what we forbid it to will, and to our manifest damage ? Does it suffer itself, more than any of the other faculties, to be directed by the results of our reason ? To conclude, I should move, in the behalf of the gentleman, my client, that it might be considered, that though in this circumstance his cause is inseparably and indistinctly conjoined with an accomplice, yet he only is called in question, and that by arguments and accusations that cannot be charged upon his said accomplice, who sometimes invites at a wrong season, and never refuses, and who allures tacitly and clandestinely. Therefore is the malice and injustice of his accusers manifestly apparent. But be that as it will, let the advocates and judges pass sentence as they please, nature will have its course, and she would have done no more than justice, if she had endowed this member with some special privilege, as the author of the only immortal work of mortals ; the divine work, according to Socrates, and love, the desire of immortality, and the immortal dæmon himself.

Confidence in
the physician
contributes to
the cure of the
patient.

Some one, perhaps, by such an effect of imagination, leaves the king's-evil behind him, which his companion carries back into Spain. This is the reason why in such cases it is usual to require the mind to be prepared for the thing which is to be undertaken. Why do the physicians practise beforehand upon the credulity of their patient with so many false pro-

† Claudius, the fifth Roman emperor. But Suetonius only relates, that it was said the emperor Claudius had a design to authorize this freedom any where, even at feasts. See the Life of Claudius, cap. 32.

mises of his cure, unless it were that the force of imagination might be a salvo for the imposture of their apozems? They know that a great master of their faculty has left it under his hand, that there are some men on whom the very sight of a medicine has operated. What has put this whimsical conceit into my head, is the remembrance of a story that was told me by a domestic of my late father's apothecary, an honest Swiss, whose countrymen are not given to vanity nor lying, viz. That he had known a merchant at Thoulouse, who being a valetudinarian, and afflicted with the stone, had frequent occasion to take clysters, of which he caused several sorts to be prescribed to him by the physicians, according to the accidents of the disease, and they being brought to him with all the usual forms, he often felt with his finger whether they were not too hot. Being laid down on his bed, the syringe put up, and all the apparatus performed, except injection, the apothecary being retired, and the patient treated in all respects as if he had received a clyster, he found the same effect that those do to whom it has been actually administered. If at any time the physician did not think the operation sufficient, he gave him two or three more after the same manner. The Swiss moreover swore to me, that, to save charges (for he paid as if he had really taken the clysters) the patient's wife having sometimes made trial of warm water only, the effect discovered the cheat, and finding these would do no good, he was fain to return to the old way.

A woman fancying she had swallowed a pin in a piece of bread, cried out, sadly complaining of an intolerable pain in her throat, where she thought she felt it stick.

But an ingenious fellow who was brought to her, finding no outward tumour, nor alteration, and guessing that it was only a conceit she had taken at some crust of bread that had pricked her as it went down, gave her a vomit, and probably dropped a crooked pin into the basin, which the woman imagining she had voided, presently

A distemper
contracted by
mere power of
imagination.

found herself eased of her pain. I myself knew a gentleman, who having made an entertainment at his own house for some company, gave out, three or four days after it, by way of jest only (for there was no such thing) that he had made them eat a baked cat; at which a young lady that was one of the guests took such an abominable disgust, that she was seized with a violent sickness at her stomach, and a fever, to such a degree, that there was no possibility of saving her.

The brute animals are subject to the power of imagination.

The effects of it upon the body of another.

That other animals are subject to the power of imagination as well as man, has been seen in some dogs, which have died of grief for the loss of their masters. We observe them also to bark and tremble in their sleep, as horses will neigh and kick in theirs. But all this may be ascribed

to the close connection betwixt the body and soul, mutually imparting what they feel to each other.

On the other hand, the imagination operates sometimes, not upon its own body only, but upon the body of another, just in the same manner as an injected body communicates its distemper to its neighbour, as we perceive in the plague, small-pox, and sore eyes, which are conveyed from one body to another.

*Dum spectant oculi læsos, læduntur & ipsi:
Multaque corporibus transiione nocent* *. i. e.

Viewing sore eyes, eyes to be sore are brought,
And many ills are by transiion caught.

So the imagination, being vehemently agitated, emits ideas capable of hurting another object. We read in ancient history, of certain women in Scythia, who being animated and enraged against any one, killed them only with their looks. Turtles and ostriches hatch their eggs with only looking at them; which shews that their eyes have a certain power to dart. And the eyes of sorcerers are said to be malignant and hurtful.

* Ovid. de remedio amoris, lib. ii. ver. 320.

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos †. i. e.

What eye it is I do not know,

My tender lambs bewitches so.

Magicians are but bad vouchers for me ; yet we find by experience, that women imprint the marks of their fancy on the infants they bear in their wombs. The imagination of women with child. Witness her that was brought to bed of a negro, and the girl that was brought from the neighbourhood of Pisa, and presented to Charles king of Bohemia, and emperor, all over rough and hairy, whom her mother is said to have conceived when she was looking at an image of St. John the Baptist, that hung by her bed-side.

It is the same with animals ; witness Jacob's sheep, and the partridges and hares, The power of imagination in animals. which turn out white upon the snowy mountains. There was at my house a little while ago, a cat watching a bird that was at the top of a tree, and after having fixed their eyes stedfastly upon one another for some time, the bird dropped down dead, as it were, into the cat's claws ; either being intoxicated by its own imagination, or allured by some attractive power in puss. They who are fond of hawking, must no doubt have heard the story of the falconer, who, having steadily fixed his eye upon a kite in the air, laid a wager that he would bring her down by the mere power of his sight ; and it was said he did so. As for the tales I borrow, I charge them upon the consciences of those from whom I have them. The arguments are my own, and founded upon the proof of reason, not of experience, to which every one is at the liberty of adding his own examples ; and he that has none to offer, let him believe, nevertheless, that here are enough, considering the number and variety of accidents. If I have not made a just application of them, let any body else make a better. Also in the subjects whereon I treat, of our manners and motives, the testimonies which I produce, how fabulous soever, provided they are not impossible,

† Virgil. Eclogue iii. ver. 183.

serve as well as the true ones. Whether they happened or not at Rome, or at Paris, to John or to Peter, it is still a turn of the human capacity, of which I have made good use by this recital. I see it, and benefit by it, as much in the shadow as in the substance: and of the various passages I meet with in history, I select that for my purpose which is the most rare and remarkable. There are some authors, whose aim it is to give an account of things that have really happened; mine, if I can attain to it, should be to represent what may possibly happen. There is a just liberty allowed in the schools, of supposing families when they have none at hand. I do not, however, make any use of that liberty; and as to that affair in superstitious religion, I surpass all historical authority, in the instances which I here mention of what I have heard, read, done, or said. I have laid myself under a prohibition to presume to alter the slightest and most trifling circumstances. My conscience does not falsify one tittle; what my ignorance may do, I cannot say.

Whether it is consistent with a philosopher and a divine to write history. This it is that makes me sometimes ponder with myself, whether it can be consistent with a divine and a philosopher, and men of such delicate consciences, and exquisite wisdom, to write history. How can they stake their credit on that of the public? How can they be responsible for the opinions of men whom they do not know, and deliver their conjectures as canonical? Of actions performed before their own eyes, wherein several people were actors, they would be unwilling to give evidence before a judge, and they would not undertake to be absolute surety for the intentions of their most familiar acquaintance. For my part, I think, there is less hazard in writing of things past, than present, so far as the writer only relates matters upon the authority of others.

Why Montaigne will not write the history of his own time. I am solicited to write the history of my own time by some people, who think I look upon its affairs with an eye less prejudiced than another, and that I have a clearer insight

fight into them, by reason of the access which I have had, by my good fortune, to the leaders of the different factions; but they do not consider that, were I to gain the reputation of Sallust, I would not take the pains, being such a sworn enemy, as I am, to all obligation, assiduity, and perseverance; besides, that there is nothing so inconsistent with my style, as an extended narration. I often cut myself short in it for want of breath. I am neither good at composition nor comment, and know no more than a child the phrases and idioms proper for expressing the most common things: therefore I have undertaken to treat of what I know how to express, and have accommodated my subject to my capacity. Should I take a guide, I might not be able to keep pace with him. Nor do they consider, that while I indulge such a freedom, I might deliver opinions, which in my own judgment, and according to reason, would be illegal and punishable. Plutarch would be ready to tell us, that what he has wrote is the work of others; that his examples are all and every where strictly true; that they are useful to posterity; and are exhibited with such a lustre, as will light us in the way to virtue, which was his aim. Whether an old story be true or false, it is not of dangerous consequence.

C H A P. XXI.

One Man's Profit is another's Loss.

DEMADES, the Athenian, condemned a fellow-citizen, who furnished out funerals, for demanding too great a price for his goods; and if he got an estate, it must be by the death of a great many people: but, I think it a sentence ill grounded, forasmuch as no profit can be made, but at the expence of some other person, and that every kind of gain is by that rule liable to be condemned. The tradesman thrives by the debauchery of youth, and the farmer by the dearth of corn; the architect by the ruin of buildings, the officers
of

of justice by quarrels and law-suits; nay even the honour and function of divines is owing to our mortality and vices. No physician takes pleasure in the health, even of his best friends, said the ancient Greek comedian, nor soldier in the peace of his country; and so of the rest*. And, what is yet worse, let every one but examine his own heart, and he will find, that his private wishes spring and grow up at the expence of some other person. Upon which consideration this thought came into my head, that nature does not hereby deviate from her general policy; for the naturalists hold, that the birth, nourishment, and increase of any one thing is the decay and corruption of another.

*Nam quodcunque suis mutatum finibus exit,
Continuo hoc mors est illius, quod fuit ante † i. e.*

For what from its own confines chang'd doth pass,
Is straight the death of what before it was.

C H A P. XXII.

*Of Custom, and the Difficulty of changing a Law
once received.*

The force of
custom.

IN my opinion, that person had a very right conception of the power of custom, who invented the fable of the country woman*, who having played with, and carried in her arms, a calf from the very hour it was cast, and continuing to do so as it grew up, did, by that custom, gain so much strength, that though it lived to be a large ox, she still carried it. For, in truth, custom is a violent, and yet an insinuating school-mistress; she establishes her authority over us gradually, and by stealth; but

* Seneca de Beneficiis, lib. vi. cap. 38. from whence most of this chapter is taken: † Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 752, 753.

• It is become a kind of proverb, which Petronius has thus expressed,
—*Tollere taurum*

Quæ tulerit vitulam illa potest.

You will also find it among the adages of Erasmus, Chil. 1. Cent. 2. Ad. 51. hav-

having by such a gentle and humble beginning planted and fixed it, she immediately unmasks, and shews us a furious and tyrannic countenance, against which we hardly dare so much as to lift up our eyes. We see her at every turn breaking through the laws of nature; *usus efficacissimus rerum omnium magister* *; i. e. custom is the greatest tyrant in nature. I give credit to the account of Plato's cave in his Republic, and to the custom of the physicians, who so often resign the reasons of their art to its authority. I believe the story of that king, who, by custom, brought his stomach to that pass, as to take poison for its nourishment; and that of the young woman, who, Albert reports, was accustomed to live on poison; for in the late discovered world of the Indies, there were found great nations, and in very different climates who lived upon them, collected and fed them for their tables, as they also did grasshoppers, mice, lizards, and bats; and, in dearth of provisions, a toad was sold for six crowns; all which they dress, and serve up with various sauces. There were also others found, to whom the flesh we eat, and our other provisions were deadly poison. *Consuetudinis magna vis est: pernoctant venatores in nive: in montibus uri se patiuntur: pugiles caestibus contusi, ne ingemiscunt quidem* †: i. e. Great is the power of custom. It makes huntsmen pass whole nights in the snow, and to suffer themselves in the day to be parched with heat on the mountains; and the prize-fighters, though beat almost to a jelly, not so much as to utter a single groan. These foreign instances will not be thought so strange, if we consider, what we know by common experience, how much custom dulls our senses. To be satisfied of this, we need not go to the Nile to be certified of what is reported of those who live near its cataracts; nor need we discredit what the philosophers think of the music of the spheres, that the bodies of those circles being solid and smooth, and happening to touch and rub one another in their

* Pliny's Nat. Hist. lib. xxvi. cap. 21

† Cic. Tusc. Quest. lib. ii. cap. 17.

motion, cannot fail to produce a wonderful harmony; by the quavers and changes whereof the revolutions and carols (*i. e.* dances) of the stars are modulated. We are to take it for granted, that the hearing faculty of all creatures here below being stupified, like that of the Egyptians, by the continuance of this sound, cannot perceive it, how great soever. Smiths, millers, armourers, and the like, could never be able to live in the noise of their trades, if it struck their ears with the same violence as it does ours. My perfumed band gratifies my own nostrils at first, but after I have worn it a little while, it is only smelt by those who come near me; but it is yet more strange that custom, notwithstanding the long intermissions and intervals, should yet have the power to unite and establish the effect of its impressions upon our senses, as those experience who live near churches where there is ringing of bells. I lie at home in a turret, where every morning and evening a very great bell rings out the *Ave Maria*, the noise of which shakes the bed under me, and at first I thought it insupportable; but a little time made it so familiar to me, that I now hear it without offence, and often it does not awaken me.

Vices take root in the most tender years, and ought therefore to be corrected instantly.

Plato having reproved a boy for playing with nuts, the child said, 'You blame me for a trifle.' Plato replied, 'Custom is not such a trifle*.' I observe, that our greatest vices are derived from the impression made on us in our most tender years, and that we are principally governed by our nurses. The mothers are delighted in seeing a child twist the neck of a chicken, and divert itself in hurting a puppy or a kitten. And there are such silly fathers in the world, as think it a happy presage of a warlike spirit, when they see their sons fall foul on an innocent peasant, or a lackey, that dares not hold up his hand in his

* Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Plato, lib. iii. segm. 38. where he does not say, that the person reproved by Plato was a child, and that he played with nuts; but he says, that he played with dice, which renders Plato's answer of much more importance.

defence. They think it shews a genius in a lad, when they see him outwitting his play-fellow by some unlucky trick or knavery ; yet these are the true seeds and roots of cruelty, tyranny, and treachery. In these years they bud, and afterwards sprout up vigorously in the hands of custom ; and it is a very dangerous error to excuse these vile inclinations by the tenderness of years, and the levity of the subject. In the first place, it is nature that speaks, the voice of which is then more pure and genuine, as it is younger and more shrill. Secondly, the deformity of cozenage does not depend on the difference betwixt crown pieces and pins, but merely upon itself ; and I should think it more just to reason thus, Why would he not cheat for a crown, since he does so for a pin ? than to argue as they do, who say, He only plays for pins ; he would not cheat, if it was for money. Children should be carefully taught to abhor the vices of their own contriving, and the natural deformity of them ought to be so represented, that they may not only avoid them in their actions, but to hate them from their hearts, that the very thought of them may be odious to them, what mask soever they wear. I know very well, that for my own part, having been trained in my childhood to walk in a plain open path, and having then entertained an aversion to all manner of tricking and shuffling in my childish sports, (as it must be noted, that the plays of children are not in jest, but must be judged of as their most serious actions) there is no pastime, how trifling soever, wherein I partake, in which I do not abhor deceit, from my natural inclination, and without study. I shuffle and cut the cards, and keep as strict an account for a livre, as if it were for a double pistole ; and when I play in good earnest with others for a round sum, it is with the same indifference, whether I win or lose, as when I play against my wife or daughter. At all times, and in all places, my own eyes are a sufficient watch upon my actions. I am not so narrowly observed by any others, nor are there any that I am more cautious of offending.

I saw

Feet formed to
do the office of
hands.

I saw, t'other day, at my own house, a little fellow, a native of Nantes, born without arms, who has so well disciplined his feet to perform the services his hands should have done him, that in reality his feet have in a great measure forgot their natural office. Moreover, he calls them his hands; he cuts with them, charges and discharges a pistol, threads a needle, sews, writes, puts off his hat, combs his head, plays at cards and dice, and all this with as much dexterity as any body; and the money I gave him he carried away in his foot as we do in our hand.

A boy without
hands flourished
a sword, &c. by
the motion of
his neck.

I knew another, who, when he was but a lad, flourished a two-handed sword, and a halbert, merely by the twisting and twining of his neck for want of hands, tossed them into the air, and caught them again; darted a dagger, and cracked a whip, as well as any waggoner in France. But the effects of custom are much better discovered, by the strange impression it makes on our minds, where it does not meet with so much resistance. What has it not the power to impose upon our judgment and credulity? Omitting the gross impostures in religion, with which we have seen so many populous nations, and so many able men intoxicated; (for this being beyond the sphere of human reason, an error is more excusable in such as are not by the divine favour enlightened in an extraordinary manner) is there any opinion so fantastic, but there are others as strange, which it has planted and established as laws in whatsoever countries it thought fit. And therefore that ancient exclamation was exceeding just, *Non pudet Physicum, id est, speculatorem, venatoremque Naturæ ab animis consuetudine imbutis quærere testimonium veritatis**? Is it not a shame for a natural philosopher, whose business it is to investigate and pry into the secrets of nature, to have recourse to the prejudice of custom for the evidence of truth?

* Cic. de Nat. Deorum, lib. i. cap. 30. translated by the Abbé d'Olivet.

I reckon, that there is no fancy, how absurd soever, that can enter into the imagination of man, but it has the example of some publick practice, and which is a sanction to our reason. There are people amongst whom it is a fashion to turn their backs upon the person whom they salute, and not to look in the face of the man whom they mean to honour. There is a court, where, whenever the king spits, the lady that is his chief favourite holds out her hand to receive it; and another nation, where the most eminent persons about the sovereign stoop to the ground to take up his ordure in a linen cloth. Let us here slip in a story. A French gentleman always blew his nose betwixt his fingers, (a thing very unfashionable with us) which he justified, and being a man who had wit at will, he asked me what privilege had this nasty excrement, that we must carry a piece of fine linen about us to receive it in; and not only so, but, moreover, fold it up, and carry it carefully about in our pockets, which must be more offensive than to see it thrown away, as we do all our other evacuations? I thought that what he said was not altogether without reason; and, by being frequently in his company, custom made the practice appear not so strange, how hideous soever we think it, when it is reported of another country. Miracles appear such, according to our ignorance of nature, and not according to the real essence of nature. Custom blinds the eye of our judgment. We are as much a wonder to the Barbarians, as they are to us, and with as much reason, as every one would acknowledge, if, after having reflected upon these remote examples, he was capable of reflecting on the examples he gives himself of his own customs, and comparing them fairly with the examples and usages of other nations. Human nature is a tincture equally infused into all our opinions and manners, of what form soever they are, infinite in matter, infinite in diversity. To return to my subject, there are people where (his wife and children excepted) no one speaks to the king but through a trunk. In one and the same nations the

The odd customs of divers nations.

virgins discover their secret parts, and the married women carefully cover and conceal them. To this a certain custom bears some relation in another place, where chastity is only esteemed in the married state, for there the unmarried women may prostitute themselves to as many as they please, and, when with child, may take medicines publicly to procure abortion. And in another place, if a tradesman marries, all the tradesmen who are invited to the wedding lie with the bride before him; and the more of them there are, the greater is her honour, and her character for courage and ability. If an officer or nobleman marry, the case is the same, and so it is with others, except it be a labouring man, or some one of low degree; for then the lord of the manor performs the office, and yet a strict fidelity is recommended during the state of wedlock. There is a place where men are stewed in brothel-houses for the entertainment of the women, and where, in the married state, the wives go the wars as well as their husbands, and take rank, not only in battle, but also in command. In some places they not only wear rings in their nostrils, lips, cheeks, and toes, but very weighty ones in their breasts and buttocks. In others, when they eat, they wipe their fingers upon their thighs, their cod-pieces, and the soles of their feet. In some places the children are not heirs, but only the brothers and nephews; and elsewhere only the nephews, saving in the succession to the crown. There are some places, where, for the regulation of the community of goods and estates observed in the country, certain sovereign magistrates have a universal commission to cultivate the lands, and distribute the fruits according to every one's necessity. In some places they mourn for the death of children, and feast at the decease* of old men. In some places they lie ten or twelve in a bed, men and their wives together. In one country, the women whose husbands come to an untimely end, may marry again; others not. In another,

* I fancy Montaigne took this from Herodotus, lib. v. p. 330. where the historian says, that certain people of Thrace weep at the birth of their young children, and bury their dead with great marks of joy.

the condition of women is so disliked, that the female issue of their marriages are destroyed, and they buy women of their neighbours for their occasions. In some places the men may be parted from their wives without shewing any cause, but not the wives from the husbands for any cause whatever. In others, the husbands are allowed to sell their wives, if they are barren. In others they boil the corpse of the deceased, and then bruise it till it becomes like a jelly, which they mix with their wine, and drink. In some countries the most desirable sepulture is to be eaten by dogs*, and elsewhere by birds. It is the opinion, in some places, that the souls of the happy live in all manner of liberty, in pleasant fields, furnished with all manner of conveniencies, and that the echoes we hear come from them. In others, they fight in the water, and shoot their arrows with success while they are swimming. In others they signify their subjection by lifting up their shoulders, and hanging down their heads, and put off their shoes when they enter the king's palace. The eunuchs in one place who have charge of the nuns, have moreover their noses and lips cut off, that they may be the less amiable; and where the priests put out their own eyes, to get acquaintance with their dæmons, and receive the oracles. In some places every one creates a deity out of what he pleases; the huntsman deifies a lion, or a fox; the fisherman, some fish or other; and they make idols of every human action or passion. The sun, the moon, and the earth are the principal deities; and the form of taking an oath is to touch the earth, with the eyes lifted up to the sun; and there they eat both flesh and fish raw. There is a place where the most solemn oath is †, to swear by the name of some deceased person who was of eminence in the country, laying the hand at the same time on his tomb. In some places the new-year's gift which the king sends to the princes his vassals, is fire; which be-

* Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrh. Hypol. lib. iii. cap. 24. p. 157.

† Herodot. lib. iv. p. 318. Nymphadorus, lib. xiii. Rerum Barbaricarum.

ing brought, all the old fire is put out, and this new fire all the neighbouring people are obliged to fetch every one for themselves, upon pain of incurring the guilt and punishment of high treason. In another place, when the king retires from his administration, purely to devote himself to religion (which often happens), his next successor is obliged to do the same; by which means the right of the government devolves to the third person in the succession. In some places the form of government is varied according to the exigency of affairs. They depose the king when they think fit, substituting the elders of the people to the helm of government, and sometimes they transfer it to the hands of the commonalty. In some parts the men and women are both circumcised, and also baptized. In others, the soldier, who in one or several engagements has happened to bring seven of the enemy's heads to the king, is made noble. In some countries they entertain the singular and unsociable opinion that the soul is mortal. In others the women are delivered of children without any complaint or fear. In some places they wear copper boots upon both legs, and if a louse bites them*, they are bound by the obligation of magnanimity, to bite that louse again: and dare not marry, till they have first made a tender of their virginity. In other places the common way of salutation is, by touching the earth with a finger, and then pointing it up towards heaven. Some places there are where the men carry burdens upon their heads, and women upon their shoulders†; and where the women piss standing, and the men couching down: where they send drops of their blood in token of friendship, and pay the same incense to the men they would honour, as to the gods: where kindred are not allowed to marry, not only to the fourth, but to any remoter degree of affinity: where the children are kept four years at nurse, and often twelve; where it is also accounted mortal to give the infants the breast on the first day after it is born: where the correction of the male children is the peculiar province of the fathers,

* Herod. lib. iv. 317. Nicot.

† Ibid; p. 324.

and that of the females the sole prerogative of the mothers, the punishment being to suspend them by the heels in the smoke. In some places they actually circumcise the women, and eat all sorts of herbs, without scrupling any but such as have a bad smell. In some, all places are open, and their finest houses with the richest furniture, and without doors, windows, or chests, the punishment inflicted on thieves being double to what it is elsewhere. In some places they crack lice with their teeth like monkeys, and abhor killing them with their nails. In some places they never cut their hair, nor pair their nails; and in others they pare those of the right-hand only, letting those of the left grow for ornament; and suffer the hair on the right-side to grow as long as it will, while they keep the other side shaved*; and in the neighbouring provinces some let their hair grow long before, as others do that behind, and shave the rest close. In some places the parents let out their children, and husbands their wives to their guests for hire. Others there are, where men may get their own mothers with child, and fathers make use of their own daughters, or of their sons, without any scandal or offence. In others they interchangeably lend their children to one another at their festivals, without any consideration of proximity of blood. In one place men feed upon human flesh; in another, it is reckoned a charitable office for a man to kill his father at a certain age†; and elsewhere the fathers appoint the children, whilst yet in their mother's womb, some to be preserved, and carefully brought up, and others to be abandoned, and killed. Elsewhere the old husbands lend their wives to young men; and in other places they are in common without offence: nay, there is a country where the women wear, as a mark of honour, as many fringed tassels to their gowns as they have enjoyed men‡.

Moreover, has not custom made a republic of women, separately by themselves? Has it not put arms into their hands? made them to raise armies, and fight

* Herodot. lib. iv. p. 324.
 pot. lib. iii. cap. 24. p. 153.

† Sextus Empyricus Pyrrh. Hyp.
 ‡ Herodot. lib. iv. p. 319.

battles? and does it not, by its single precept, instruct the most ignorant vulgar in things which all the philosophy in the world could never beat into the heads of the wisest men*? For we know entire nations, where death was not only despised, but heartily welcomed; where children of seven years old suffered themselves even to be whipped to death, without changing their countenance†? where riches were held in such contempt, that the meanest subject would not have deigned to stoop to take up a purse of crown pieces. And we know countries very fruitful in all manner of provisions, where the most common diet, and yet what they are most pleased with, was only bread, cresses, and water‡. Was it not custom also that worked that miracle in Chios, that in 700 § years it was never remembered that either maid or wife did any thing to stain their honour? To conclude, there is nothing, in my opinion, which custom does not, or is not capable of doing; and therefore Pindar justly calls it, the “Queen and the Empress of the World ||.” He that was reproved for beating his father made answer, that it was the custom of his family; that his father had in like manner beaten his grandfather; his grand-father, his great-grand-father; and, then pointing to him, this son of mine will beat me also, when he comes to my age. And the father whom the son dragged along the street, bid him to stop at a certain door, because he himself had dragged his father no further, that being the utmost limit of the hereditary insolence with which the sons used to treat the fathers in their family. It is as much from custom, says Aristotle, as from infirmity, that women tear their hair, bite their nails, eat coals and chalk; and much more from custom than nature, that men abuse themselves with one another.

The origin of
the laws of con-
science.

The laws of conscience, which we pretend to be derived from nature, proceed from custom; every man having an in-

* The Thracians, Valer. Maximus, lib. ii. ch. 6. sect. 12.

† At Lacædemon.

‡ In Persia, in the reign of Cyrus,

Xenophon's Cyropædia, lib. i. cap. 8. and 11. Oxford Edit. 1703.

§ Plutarch, in his Treatise of the Virtuous Behaviour of Women, in the article of those of Chios.

|| Herodotus, lib. iii. p. 200.

ternal veneration for the opinions and manners approved and received amongst his countrymen, cannot depart from them without reluctance, nor adhere to them without approbation.

When the people of Crete, in times past, had a mind to curse any one, they prayed the gods to engage them in some evil † habit. But the principal effect of the power of custom, is to seize and intangle us in such a manner, that it is hardly in our power to disengage ourselves from its gripe, or so to recover ourselves, as to reason and discourse upon what it enjoins. To say the truth, because we suck it in with our mother's milk, and the face of the world presents itself in this posture to our first sight, it seems as if we were born upon condition of pursuing this very course; and the common fancies that we find in repute every where round us, and which we imbibe in our infancy, appear to be genuine and natural. From hence it appears, that whatever does not turn on the hinge of custom, is thought to be off of the hinges of reason, though, God knows, how unreasonably for the most part. If, as we who study ourselves, have learnt to do, every one who hears a just sentence, would immediately consider how it may any way affect himself, every one would find, that it was not so much a good saying, as a severe lash to the ordinary stupidity of his own judgment. But men receive the admonition of truth, and its precepts, as addressed to the vulgar only, and never to themselves; and instead of applying them to their own behaviour, every one is content with committing them to memory, very absurdly and unprofitably. Return we now to the tyranny of custom.

How imperious
is the power of
custom.

People that have been bred up to liberty and to be their own masters, look upon every other system of government to be monstrous, and contrary to nature. Those who are inured to monarchy do the same; and though fortune may give them ever so favour-

Every nation is
consistent with
that sort of go-
vernment which
it is used to.

† Valer. Maxim. lib. vii. in externis, sect. 15.

able an opportunity of altering it, even when they have with the greatest difficulty disengaged themselves from the troublesome sway of one master, they hasten with like difficulties to place another in his room, so fond are they of the subjection they have been accustomed to.

Why every one is pleased with his native country.

It is owing to custom, that every one is pleased with the spot in which he was planted by nature; and the * Highlanders of Scotland pant no more for the fine air of Touraine, than the Scythians do for the delightful fields of Theffaly.

A proposal made to the Indians and Greeks, how received.

Darius asking the Greeks what they would take to follow the custom of the Indians†, in eating the bodies of their deceased parents? (for that was their practice, as believing they could not give them a better sepulture than in their own bodies) they made answer, that they would not do it for any thing in the world: but having also tried to persuade the Indians to leave off their custom, and to burn the bodies of their parents, after the manner of the Greeks, they conceived a still greater horror at the idea. Every one does the same; for custom veils the true aspect of things from our eyes.

*Nil adeo magnum, nec tam mirabile quicquam
Principio, quod non minuant mirarier omnes
Paulatim ‡.*

Nothing at first so great, or strange appears,
But grows familiar in succeeding years.

Taking upon me once to justify an observation which was received with absolute authority round us for a great many leagues, and being not content, as people

* These are an ignorant people, who are said to live only upon rapine. They who know nothing of the country, need only read Froissart, vol. ii. cap. 160, 169, and 174, and they will perceive why Montaigne sets Touraine in opposition to them.

† Herodotus, lib. iii. p. 200. As to the custom of the Indians eating the bodies of their dead parents, see Sextus Empyricus Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. iii. cap. 24. p. 157.

‡ Lucret. lib. ii. ver. 1027.

commonly are, to establish it only by force of laws and examples; but enquiring still further into its origin, I perceived the foundation so weak, that I, who strove to confirm it in others, was very near being dissatisfied with it myself. It is by this recipe that Plato * undertakes to eradicate the unnatural and preposterous amours of his time, which he esteems the sovereign and principal remedy, viz. That the public opinion condemns them; that the poets, and all other writers, relate sad stories of them. A recipe, by the virtue of which the most beautiful daughters no longer allure their father's lusts, nor brothers of the finest shape the desire of their sisters; the very fables of Thyestes, Œdipus, and Macareus, having with the harmony of their song infused this wholesome belief into the tender brains of infants. Chastity is in truth an amiable virtue, the utility of which is sufficiently known; but to manage and set it off according to nature, is as difficult, as it is easy to do it according to custom, laws, and precepts. The scrutiny into the fundamental and universal reasons is difficult; and our masters, by skimming lightly over them, or not daring so much as to grope for them, precipitate themselves at first dash into the privilege of custom, in which they pride themselves and triumph. They who will not suffer themselves to be drawn from this original, commit an error still greater, and submit themselves to wild opinions; witness Chrysippus †, who, in so many of his writings, has shewn the ridiculous light in which he looked upon incestuous conjunctions of what nature soever.

Whoever would disengage himself from this violent prejudice of custom, will find many things received without scruple, which have no real foundation in nature; but when this mask is taken off, and things referred to the decision of truth and reason, he will find his judgment, as it were, quite over-

Custom the only
foundation of
many things
much authorised
in the world. V

* De Legibus, lib. viii. p. 646.

† Sextus Empyricus Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. i. cap. 14. p. 31.

thrown, and yet restored to a state much more sure. For example, I would then ask him, what can be more strange than to see people obliged to obey laws which they never understood, and to be bound in all their domestic affairs, marriages, grants, wills, sales, and purchases, to rules which they cannot possibly know, being neither written nor published in their own language, and of which they must necessarily pay for the interpretation and uses; not according to the ingenious sentiment of Socrates, who advised his king to make the traffick and negociation of his subjects free and lucrative to them, and to charge their quarrels and debates with heavy taxes; but by a monstrous opinion to make a traffic of reason itself, and to make the laws as current as merchandize. I think myself obliged to fortune that, (as our historians say) it was a Gascon gentleman, a countryman of mine, that was the first that opposed Charlemagne, when he attempted to impose Latin and Imperial Laws on us.

The inconveni-
encies of the
barbarous cus-
tom of selling
justice.

What sight can there be more savage, than to see * a nation, where custom has made it lawful to sell the office of a judge, and to buy sentences with ready money, and where justice is legally denied to the party who has not wherewithal to pay for it; and where this merchandize is in so great credit, as to form a fourth estate in the government, viz. of lawyers, to be added to the three ancient ones of the church, the nobility and the people; which fourth estate having the laws in their hands, and the sovereign power over men's lives and fortunes, forms a body separate from the nobility. From hence it comes to pass, that there are double laws, those of honour, and those of justice, in many things directly opposite to one another; the nobles as rigorously condemning a lie suffered, as the others do a lie revenged. By the martial law of arms, he who puts up an affront, shall be degraded from all nobility and honour; and by

* France, where this disorder has even increased since Montaigne's time, and where it is like to last as long as the monarchy itself.

the civil law, he who takes revenge, incurs a capital punishment. He who has recourse to the laws to obtain satisfaction for an injury done to his honour, disgraces himself; and he who does not, is punished by the laws: and of these two branches, so different, yet both of them referring to one head. Those have the care of peace, these of war; those the profit, these the honour; those wisdom, these virtue; those the privilege of speech, these of action; those justice, these valour; those reason, these force; those the long robe, these the short one.

As for matters of indifference, such as apparel, where is the person who is for reducing it to its true use, which is the service and convenience of the body, upon which its original grace and decency depend. Among the most whimsical that I think can be invented, I will mention our square caps, that long tail of twisted velvet which hangs down from our women's heads with its whimsical trinkets, and that idle bauble of a model of a member, we cannot in modesty so much as mention, and which, nevertheless, we make public parade with.

The fantasticalness of custom in dress.

These considerations, however, will not prevail upon any man of understanding to decline the common mode: tho' I cannot help thinking, that all singular and far-fetched fashions are rather marks of folly and vain affectation, than of right reason; and that the wise man ought in his own mind to retire from the crowd, and there keep his soul at liberty, and in vigour to judge freely of things, while nevertheless, as to outward appearance, he ought intirely to conform to the fashions and forms of the time. Public society has nothing to do with our private opinions; but as for the rest, namely, our actions, our labour, our lives and fortunes, they must be bent and devoted to the public service, and to the common opinions, as the great and good Socrates refused to save his life by disobedience to the magistrate, though a very unjust and wicked one: for it

As to externals, every man of good sense conforms to the custom of his country.

is

is the rule of rules, and the general law of all laws, that every person should observe those of the place where he is.

Νόμοις ἐπεσθαι τοῖσιν ἐγχωρίοις καλόν *

Whether it is
of use to change
laws that have
been established
by long custom.

Proceed we now to another topic. It is a matter of great doubt whether there is more profit than harm in changing a law that has been once received, be it what it will; forasmuch as a system of government is like to a building of divers parts, so joined together, that it is impossible to stir or shake any of them without affecting the rest. The legislator of the Thurians made an order †, that whoever offered to abolish any of the old laws, or to establish a new one, should come before the people with a halter about his neck, to the end that, if the innovation was not unanimously approved, he should be strangled on the spot. And that of Lacedæmon ‡, made it the business of his life to get a faithful promise from his citizens, that they would not infringe any of his ordinances. The Ephorus ||, who so rudely cut the two strings which Phrynis had added to music, never stood to examine whether that addition made a better harmony; it was enough for him to condemn the invention, because it was an alteration of the old composition: which also is the meaning of the old rusty sword of justice carried before the magistracy of Marseilles. For my part, I have an aversion to novelty of what complexion soever, and have reason, having been an eye-witness of its mischievous consequences. The innovation which has for so many years oppressed this kingdom (of France) has not indeed directly done all the mischief it has suffered, but it may be said, with some colour of reason, that it has accidentally fomented and produced all the evils and distresses that are since continued.

* In Excerptio Gratianis, p. 397. † Charondas in Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xii. c. 4. ‡ Lycurgus. See his Life by Plutarch, ch. 21.

|| Plutarch, in his Notable Sayings of the Lacedæmonians, calls this Ephorus, Emerepea, Valer. Max. lib. ii. cap. 6. sect. 7.

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis *. i. e.

Alas! the wounds by which I smart,
My own sharp weapons did impart.

They who give a shock to a state, are ready to be the first who are swallowed up in its ruin. The fruits of a public commotion are seldom enjoyed by the person who fomented it. He only disturbs the water for others to catch the fish. The unity and contexture of monarchy, in this great structure, having been remarkably broken and dissolved in its old age, by this innovation, has made way for the entrance of the like injuries. The royal majesty does not easily sink from the summit to the middle, but tumbles headlong from the middle to the foundation. But if the inventors do the most mischief, the imitators are the more criminal to follow examples, of which they have felt the evil: and if there be any degree of horror, even in doing ill, the latter owe to the former the glory of inventing, and the courage of making the first effort. New disorders of all kinds derive ideas and precedents for disturbing our government from this original and plentiful source. We read in our very laws made for the remedy of this primitive evil, the first essays of bad enterprizes of all kinds, and the excuse made for them. And what Thucydides says of the civil wars in his time, is applicable to us, That, to palliate public vices, their true names are sophisticated and softened by new ones, which are not so harsh. It is intended, however, to reform our consciences and opinions. *Honesta oratio est* †, i. e. "It is a plausible speech;" but the best plea for innovation is very dangerous: and, to speak my thoughts with freedom, it seems to me to be great self-love and presumption in a man, to set such a value upon his own opinions, that the public peace must absolutely be destroyed, to establish them, and a multitude of inevitable evils introduced into his own country, together with so dreadful a

* Ovid. in Epist. of Phillis to Demophoon, ver. 48.

† Terence Andr. Act 1. Sc. 1. ver. 104.

corruption of manners as a civil war, and the charges on the state in a matter of such consequence, always brings in its train. Is it not bad management to set up so many certain and palpable vices against errors that are doubtful and disputable? Are there any views worse than these committed against a man's own conscience, and the natural light of his own reason? The senate, upon its dispute with the people concerning the administration of their religion, presumed to make use of this evasive argument *, *Ad Deos id magis quam ad se pertinere; ipsos visuros, ne sacra sua polluantur*: i.e. "That
 " this affair was not so much their concern as that of the
 " gods, who would themselves take care that their sacred
 " mysteries were not polluted;" according to the article which the oracle returned to those of Delphos, who, in the Median war, dreading an invasion from the Persians, enquired of Apollo what they should do with the sacred treasure of his temple, whether they should hide it, or carry it elsewhere. To which the God returned for answer, " That they should not † remove any thing
 " but only take care of themselves, so far as he was
 " sufficient to take care of his own property." The Christian religion bears all the marks of justice and utility in an extreme degree, but none more manifest than the strict recommendation of obedience to magistrates, and the maintenance of the police. What a marvellous instance of this has the divine wisdom left us, who, in establishing the salvation of mankind, and in conducting this his glorious victory over death and sin, chose to do it only in conformity to our political government, and submitted his progress, and the conduct of so sublime and salutiferous an operation, to the blindness and injustice of our observations and customs; suffering the innocent blood of so many of his chosen favourites to be shed, and bearing with the loss of such a number of years, to the maturing of this inestimable

* Tit. Liv. lib. x. ch. 6. The application which Montaigne here makes, of these words of Livy, agrees by no means with the construction they bear in that historian, as all who will be at the trouble to consult him, may perceive.

† Herodot. lib. viii. p. 539, 540.

fruit? There is a wide difference betwixt the case of one who complies with the forms and laws of his country, and of another that undertakes to regulate and change them. The first pleads in his excuse simplicity, obedience, and example, so that whatever he does, it cannot be imputed to malice, but at the worst to misfortune. *Quis est enim, quem non moveat clarissimis monumentis testata, consignataque antiquitas?* * i. e. "Who is there that is not touched with respect for antiquity, sealed and confirmed by the most illustrious testimonies?" Besides what Isocrates says, that deficiency is more a sharer in moderation than excess; the last is a track much more rugged †: for he who busies himself to chuse and alter, usurps the authority of judging, and must take it upon himself to discover the defect of what he is for removing, and the benefit of what he is about to introduce. This consideration, however vulgar, is that which fixed me in my seat, and kept the rein upon even the rashest part of my youth, so as not to burden my shoulders with so dead a weight, as to render myself responsible for a science of such importance, and to presume in that state to do what in my more mature judgment I durst not attempt in the most easy thing I had ever learned, and wherein the rashness of judging does no harm, it seeming to me very unjust to go about to subject public and established customs and institutions to the weakness and instability of private fancy, (for private reason has only a private jurisdiction) and to make that incroachment upon the divine laws, which no government would suffer upon the civil laws; with which the human reason has much more concern than with the former; yet are

* Cicero de Divinatione, lib. i. ch. 40.

† All that follows from the words, "he who busies himself," to the passage from Cicero inclusively, ending thus, "not by Zeno, Cleanthes, nor Chrysippus," is not to be found in the folio edition by Abel Angelier, printed at Paris in 1595, three years after the death of our author; nor in another folio edition printed at Paris, by Michael Blageant, in 1640. I leave it to the reader to judge, whether this addition be Montaigne's or not; but I thought myself obliged to insert it in this edition, because I not only find it in the edition printed at Paris since 1640, but in one printed at Leyden, in 1689.

they sovereignly judged by their own proper judges; and the utmost sufficiency serves only to explain and extend the custom derived from it, and not to divert, nor make any innovation in it. If sometimes the divine Providence has superseded the rules to which it has necessarily restrained us, it is not to give us a dispensation from them. These are only strokes of the divine hand, which we must not imitate, but admire, and extraordinary examples that purposely and particularly prove the kind of miracles which it offers us for a manifestation of its almighty power, above our rules and capacity, which it were folly and impiety to attempt to imitate, and which we ought not to follow, but to contemplate with astonishment; they being acts peculiar to the essence of him by whom they are performed, and not personal to us. Cotta declares very opportunely, when matters of religion are the subject, I hearken to T. Coruncanus, P. Scipio, P. Scævola, the high priests; but I give no ear to Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus*. In our present quarrel, where there are a hundred articles to be struck out and put in, articles that are also of very great importance, God knows, how many there are who can boast of their having nicely understood the grounds and reasons of both the parties. It is a number, if it amounts to a number, that would not be very able to disturb us. But what becomes of all the rest of the posse? Under what ensigns do they rank? The case is the same with them as with other weak and ill-applied medicines, whereby the humours they are designed to purge off, are only fermented, exasperated, and inflamed in the conflict, and left still behind. The medicine was too weak to purge us, but strong enough to weaken us, so that we cannot get rid of it, and receive no effect from its operation, but inward pains of long duration.

In cases of extremity necessity the old laws

So it is, nevertheless, that fortune, say what we will, presents us sometimes with a necessity so urgent, that it is requisite

* Cic. de Natura Deorum, lib. iii. cap. 2.

the laws should give place to it: and where opposition is made to the increase of an innovation which intrudes itself by violence, for a man to keep himself in all places and things within bounds and rules against these who are at full liberty to do what they list, and to whom all things are lawful that may serve to advance their design, and who have no other law nor rule but to pursue their own advantage, is a dangerous obligation and inequality.

should give way to new regulations.

*Auditum nocendi perfido præstat fides *.*

The naked truth does her fair breast disarm,
And gives to treachery a power to harm.

Forasmuch as the ordinary discipline of a healthful state does not provide against these extraordinary accidents, it presupposes a body that supports itself in its principal members and officers, and a common consent to its obedience and observation. To proceed, according to law, is a cold and constrained work, and not fit to make head against a licentious and unbridled proceeding. Those great personages, Octavius and Cato, in the two civil wars of Sylla and Cæsar, are to this day reproached, that they chose to let their country suffer the last extremities, rather than to relieve it at the expence of its laws, or to make any stir. For, in truth, in these last necessities, wherein there is no remedy, it would, perhaps, be more discreet to stoop and yield a little to receive the blow, than by opposing, without any possibility of doing good, make way for violence to trample every thing under foot; and it were better to make the laws do what they can, since they cannot do what they would. After this manner did he who suspended them for twenty-four hours; and he who for once shifted a day in the calendar; and that other, viz. Alexander the Great †, who in the month of *June* made a second *May*. The Lacedæmonians themselves, reli-

* Senec. in Oedip. Act iii. ver. 693.

† See his Life by Plutarch, in chap. 5. of Amyot's Translation.

gious observers as they were of the laws of their country; being straitened by their own law, which prohibited the chusing of the same man to be admiral twice; and, on the other hand, their affairs necessarily requiring that Lyfander should fill that office again, they made one Aracus admiral, 'tis true, but withal Lyfander was superintendant of the * marine. By the same policy, one of their ambassadors being sent to the Athenians to obtain the alteration of some decree, and Pericles remonstrating to him that it was forbid to take away the tablet, or register wherein a law had been ingrossed, advised him only to turn it over, forasmuch as this was not prohibited †. And Plutarch commends Philopæmen, that while born to command, he knew not only how to command according to the laws, but also to ‡ over-rule the laws themselves, when the public necessity required it.

C H A P. XXIII.

Different Events from the same Counsel.

JAMES Amyott §, great almoner of France, gave me this history one day, to the honour of a prince of our's (who, though of foreign extraction, was our's in very deed), that in the time of our first troubles, at the siege of Roan, that prince being advertised by the queen (mother to the king) of a plot that was formed against his life, and being particularly informed by his letters who was to be the chief conductor of it, viz. a gentleman of Anjou, or Maine, who at that time commonly came to the prince's palace for the purpose, he did not communicate his intelligence to any person in the whole world, but going, the next day, to St. Catherine's mount, where was our battery against Roan (which we at that time laid siege to) attended by the said great almoner,

* Plutarch in the Life of Lyfander, cap. 4.

Life of Pericles, cap. 18.

† In the comparison of Titus Quintus Flaminius with Philopæmen, towards the end.

‡ Idem, in the

§ The celebrated

and another bishop, he took notice of this very gentleman, who had been described to him, and sent for him. When he came before him, the prince finding him pale, and trembling with the consciousness of his guilt, he said to him, "Mr. ——— you mistrust, I find, what I have to say to you; and your very countenance shews it; it is in vain to think of hiding any thing from me, for I am so well informed of your business, that you will only make bad worse, by an attempt to conceal it; you very well know, such a thing and such a thing, which were the links and limits to the most secret parts in the plot; and therefore, as you value your life, do not fail to confess the truth of the whole design to me." When the poor man found he was detected (for the whole affair had been discovered to the queen by one of the accomplices), he had nothing to do, but with folded hands was going to throw himself at the feet of the prince to implore his mercy and forgiveness; but the prince prevented him, and proceeded to ask him as follows? "Pray, did I ever do any thing to disoblige you? Have I from any particular spite offended any that belonged to you? It is not above three weeks that I have known you; what inducement could you have to aim at my life?" To this the gentleman answered with a faltering voice, "That he had no particular reason for it, but the interest of the cause of his party in general; and that he had been persuaded by some of them, that it would be a very pious act to extirpate so powerful an enemy to their religion by any means whatsoever." "Well," said the Prince, "I will now let you see how much more amiable is the religion I maintain than that which you profess; your's has advised you to murder me without giving me a hearing, and without any provocation; whereas mine commands me to forgive you, though you know in your conscience that you would have killed me without any reason. Get you from hence instantly, and let me see you no more here;

Extraordinary
clemency of a
prince to one
who had plotted
to kill him.

“ and if you are wise, chuse honefter men to be of your
“ counfel in future defigns.”

A plot againſt
Augustus, which
he diſcovered
before it was
ripe for execu-
tion.

The emperor Auguſtus, being in Gaul, had certain intelligence of a conſpiracy which was formed againſt him by Lucius Cinna, for which he reſolved to make an example of him *; and, for that purpoſe, ſummoned a council of his friends to meet him next day; but the night preceding he was very uneaſy in his mind to think that he was going to put to death a young gentleman of a good family, nephew to Pompey the Great, which made him break out into theſe complaints, “ What! “ ſhall it be ſaid that I live in terror and alarm, and ſuf- “ fer my aſſaſſin to walk abroad at his full liberty? Shall “ he go unpuniſhed, after having conſpired againſt my “ life; a life which I have hitherto defended in ſo many “ civil wars, and ſo many battles both by land and ſea, “ and after I had eſtabliſhed univerſal peace in the “ world? Shall the man be pardoned after he had de- “ termined not only to murder, but to ſacrifice me ?” For the plot was laid to kill him while he was aſſiſting in ſome ſacrifice. After this he remained for ſome time ſilent, but then he began again, in a louder note, to exclaim againſt himſelf, ſaying, “ Why liveſt thou, if “ it be a thing of ſuch importance to ſo many people “ that thou ſhouldeſt die? Will there be no end to thy “ revenge and cruelty? Is thy life of ſo much worth, “ that ſo much miſchief muſt be done to preſerve it ?”

His wife Livia's
advice to him.

Livia, his wife, perceiving him in this perplexity, “ Will you for once, ſaid “ ſhe, be adviſed by a woman? Imitate “ the phyſicians who, when common remedies do no “ good, make trial of the contrary. You have not “ done yourſelf any good hitherto by your ſeverity. “ Lepidus has followed Savidenus; Murena, Lepidus; “ Cæpio, Murena; Ignatius, Cæpio. Begin now and “ try how lenity and clemency will ſucceed. Cinna is “ found guilty, pardon him, it will be out of his power

* See Seneca, in his treatiſe of clemency, lib. i. cap. 9. from whence the whole ſtory is here tranſcribed verbatim.

“to hurt thee hereafter, and such forgiveness will redound to thy honour.”

Augustus, very glad that he had met with an advocate of his own humour, thanked his wife; and dismissing his friends whom he had summoned to council, ordered that Cinna should be brought to him alone; which being done, he commanded every one out of the room, and when he was, by his appointment*, seated in a chair, he spoke to him after this manner; “In the first place, Cinna, I desire you would hear me patiently; do not interrupt me while I am speaking, after which I will give thee time and leisure to answer me. Thou knowest, Cinna, that having taken thee prisoner in the enemy’s camp, when thou not only didst bear arms against me, but was my enemy by birth, I saved thy life, gave thee all thy estate, and enabled thee to live so well, and so much at thy ease, that the victor even envied the condition of the vanquished. The sacerdotal office, which thou madest suit to me for, I conferred upon thee, after having refused it others whose ancestors always bore arms for me; notwithstanding which, thou hast undertaken to kill me!” Cinna crying out at this, that he was very far from harbouring so wicked a thought, Augustus stopped him short, by saying, “Cinna, thou dost not keep thy promise; thou didst assure me that I should not be interrupted: yes, you did undertake to kill me at such a time and place, in such company, and in such a manner.” At which words, seeing Cinna astonished and silent, not for having broke his promise to be silent, but from the sting of his conscience, “What, continued Augustus, was your reason

Augustus follows her advice, and makes a speech to Cinna, the chief of the conspiracy.

* This circumstance, expressly noted by Seneca, is not immaterial, because it shews us the manners of that age; and therefore I think that the celebrated Corneille did well to make use of it in his tragedy of Cinna. A king who should think it derogatory to his royalty ever to see his subjects sitting in his presence, would have but a very diminutive idea of grandeur, which does not depend on distinctions of this kind. A king, truly respectable, may freely dispense with this liberty, without risking the loss of any thing, any more than Augustus, Trajan or Marcus Aurelius.

“ for doing this ? Was it to be made emperor ? Verily
 “ the public affairs are in a bad state, if I am the only
 “ man in the way of thy advancement to the empire.
 “ Thou art not so much as able to defend thy own fa-
 “ mily, and wast lately nonsuited in a cause by a mere
 “ libertine. What ! will nothing avail thee but to at-
 “ tempt the ruin of Cæsar ? I give up the cause, if there
 “ is none but I to obstruct thy hopes. Dost thou ima-
 “ gine that Paulus, Fabius, the Cossæans and Servilians,
 “ and so many Patricians, not only noble by title, but
 “ such as honour their nobility by their virtue, will bear
 “ with thee ?” After a great deal more that he said to
 him, (for he talked to him above two whole hours)
 “ Now, go thy way, said he, I give thee that life,
 “ Cinna, as a traitor, and a parricide, which I gave
 “ thee heretofore as an enemy. Let friendship com-
 “ mence betwixt us from this day forwards ; let us try
 “ which of us two are the honestest men, I who have
 “ given thee thy life, or thou who hast received it.”
 And thus he took his leave of him. Some time after
 he preferred him to the consular dignity, complaining
 that he had not the confidence to demand it, had a strong
 friendship for him, and made him sole heir to his estate.
 Now from the time of this accident, which befel Au-
 gustus in the fortieth year of his age, there was never
 any conspiracy or attempt formed against him, and he
 thereby reaped a just reward for his clemency ; but it
 did not turn out so well for our prince, in the preced-
 ing story, for his lenity was not sufficient to secure him
 from falling into the snares of the like treason, so vain
 and frivolous a thing is human prudence, and in spite
 of all our counsels, projects, and precautions, fortune
 is always the mistress of events.

On what the suc-
 cess of physic
 is founded.

We repute physicians fortunate, when
 they hit upon a lucky cure ; as if their's
 was the only art that could not maintain
 its own ground, that its basis was too weak to support
 itself by its own strength, and as if no other art stood
 in need of the assistance of fortune in its operations. For
 my part, I have as good, or as bad an opinion of phy-
 sic

fic as you please, for, God be thanked, we hold no correspondence. I think differently from other men; for I always heartily despise it; and when I am sick, instead of entering into a composition with it, I begin yet more to detest and dread it; and when friends press me to take physic, I tell them to give me time, at least till I am restored to my health and strength, that I may be the better able to support the violence and danger of their potion. I leave nature to its operation, and am prepossessed with an opinion, that it is sufficiently armed with teeth and talons to defend itself when attacked, and to maintain that contexture of which it abhors the dissolution; for I am afraid, that the endeavour to assist it when it grapples with the disease, would really give aid not to nature, but to its adversary, and that it would create new difficulties.

Now, I say, that fortune has a great share, not in physic only, but in several other more certain arts. The poetic fallies which transport and ravish their author out of himself, why should we not ascribe them to his good fortune, since the poet himself confesses they exceed his capacity, and acknowledges them to proceed from something else than himself, and has them no more in his own power, than the orators say they have in their power those extraordinary motions and agitations that sometimes push them beyond their design?

Fortune has a great share in the flights and fallies of poetry.

So in painting, strokes shall sometimes slip from the hand of the painter, so surpassing his fancy and skill, as to excite both his admiration and astonishment. Nay, fortune does yet more plainly demonstrate the share she has in all works of this kind, by the elegancies and beauties that appear in them, not only beyond the intention, but even without the knowledge of the artist himself. A judicious reader often finds out in another man's writings perfections different from what were either intended or perceived by the author, and gives them a richer construction and complexion.

And in portraiture.

And in military
enterprizes.

As to military enterprizes, every one sees what a good share fortune has in them. Even in our counsels and deliberations there must certainly be a mixture of good and bad luck, for all that our wisdom can do avails very little. The more acute and quick it is, the weaker it finds itself, and the more diffident it is of itself. I am of Sylla's opinion; and when I look more nicely into the most glorious exploits of war, I perceive, methinks, that the conductors of them make use of deliberation and counsel only for form-sake, leaving the best share of the enterprize to fortune, and, depending upon her aid, transgress at every turn the limits of justifiable conduct. There happen sometimes accidental alacrities and strange furies in their deliberations, which prompt them frequently to the most improbable course, and swell their courage beyond the bounds of reason. From hence it falls out, that many great commanders of old, to give a sanction to their rash resolutions, have told their soldiers, that they were induced thereto by some inspiration, omen, or prognostic.

The course that
must be taken
in cases the
event of which
is uncertain.

In this uncertainty and perplexity, owing to our incapacity to discern and chuse what is of the greatest advantage, by reason of the difficulties arising from the various accidents of things, I think, that though no other consideration should be our motive, the surest way would be to pitch upon that course which is most just and honourable; and, as the shortest way is not evident, to keep always in the direct path; forasmuch as in the two instances I have just now mentioned, it is not to be doubted that it was more noble and generous in him who had received the injury to pardon it, than if he acted otherwise; and if the first was disappointed in it, he is not to be blamed for his good intention, it not being a clear point, whether, if he had acted a contrary part, he would have escaped the issue to which he was doomed by his destiny, and have lost the reputation of such an act of humanity.

In history there are many instances of persons under this impression of fear, by which most of them have been impelled to obviate the conspiracies that were forming against them, by revenge and punishment, but I find very few to whom this remedy has been of service : witness many of the Roman emperors. Whoever finds himself in this danger, ought not to expect much either from his strength or his vigilance : for how difficult is it for a man to guard against an enemy who wears the countenance of the most officious friend we have, and to know the inclination and inward sentiments of those who are present with us. It is to very little purpose for a man to have a guard of foreigners, and to be always fenced about by files of men in arms, since whoever does not value his own life, will always be master of that of another man.

Whether it is of advantage to prevent conspiracies by bloody executions.

Moreover, that continual suspicion which makes a prince jealous of all mankind, must needs be a strange torment to him. Therefore it was that Dion, being warned that Callippus watched for opportunities to take away his life, never had the heart to enquire particularly into the matter, saying, that he had rather die, than live in such misery, to be upon his guard, not only against his enemies, but against his friends *. Alexander behaved with more spirit and resolution, when, being advised by a letter from Parmenio, that Philip, his darling physician, was bribed with money by Darius, to poison him, at the same time that he gave the very letter to Philip to read, swallowed the dose he had brought him †. Was not this a declaration of his resolution, that if his friends had a mind to dispatch him out of the world, to give them free liberty to do it ? This prince is celebrated for hazardous actions ; but I do not know whether, in all his life, there be another passage that

The sad estate of a prince who is too mistrustful.

* Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the ancient kings.

† Quintus Curtius, lib. iii. cap. 6.

demonstrates more constancy than this, or any noble action of his that shines with so much lustre. They who preach up to princes such a circumspect diffidence, under colour of dictating for their security, do only preach to their ruin and dishonour. Nothing truly noble is atchieved without hazard. I know a person naturally of a very enterprizing, heroic courage, whose good fortune is continually prevented by such persuasions as these; that he keep those only about him whom he knows to be his friends; that he hearken to no reconciliation with his old enemies; that he live retired, and not venture his person with hands stronger than his own, what promise soever may be made to him, or what prospect soever he may have of advantage. I know another, who has unexpectedly made his fortune by following quite contrary advice,

How far courage ought to be exerted.

The courage of which men so greedily court the glory, is displayed, upon occasion, as magnificently in a doublet as in a coat of mail; in a cabinet as in a camp; with the arm hanging down, as well as lifted up. Such tender and wary precaution is a mortal enemy to noble exploits. Scipio, in order to sound Syphax's intention, leaving his army, and abandoning Spain, not yet well settled in his new conquest, could pass over to Africa in two contemptible bottoms, implicitly commit himself, in an enemy's country, to the power of a barbarian king upon the single security of the greatness of his own courage, his good fortune, and his elevated hopes. *Habita fides ipsam plerumque fidem obligat* *, i. e. the confidence we repose in another, often procures the return of the like confidence. On the contrary, for a life of ambition and eclat, it is necessary to hold a stiff rein upon suspicion. Fear and diffidence invite and draw on injury. The most jealous of our kings (Lewis XI.) established his affairs chiefly by voluntarily trusting his enemies with his life and liberty, manifesting thereby his intire confidence in them, to the end that they might repose the same in him. Cæsar opposed only the authority of his

* Livius.

countenance, and the sharpness of his rebukes, to his armed legions that mutinied against him; and he trusted so much to himself and his fortune, that he was not afraid to abandon and commit it to a seditious and rebellious army.

———— *stetit agere fulti,*

*Cespites, intrepidus vultu, meruitque timeri
Nil metuens *.*

Upon a parapet of turf he stood,

His manly face with resolution shone;
And chill'd the mutineers inflamed blood,
Challenging fear from all, by fearing none.

This undaunted assurance, however, cannot be represented to perfection, but by such as are not affrighted by the apprehension of death, and the worst that can happen; for to offer a trembling resolution, which is ever doubtful and uncertain, for the service of our important reconciliation, is nothing to the purpose. It is an excellent way for a person to win the heart and good-will of another, to offer his service and trust to him, provided it be freely and unconstrained by necessity, and that he manifest a pure and entire confidence in him, and a countenance clear of the least cloud of suspicion. When I was a boy, I saw a gentleman, a commanding officer in a great city, who, on occasion of a popular commotion, in order to suppress it in the bud, went out of a place where he was very secure, and committed himself to the mercy of the turbulent rabble; but it was ill for him that he did so, for he was there miserably killed. Nevertheless, I do not think he was so much to blame in going out, as for having chose a method of submission and meekness, and for endeavouring to appease this storm, rather by being a follower than a leader, and by intreaty rather than remonstrance. And I am inclined to believe, that a graceful severity, with a soldier-like way of commanding, full of security and confidence, suitable to his rank, and the dignity of his of-

Confidence must be in reality, or appearance, void of fear.

fice, would have succeeded better with him ; at least, he would have died with more honour and decency. There is nothing so little to be expected from this many-headed monster, when thus stirred up, as humanity and good-nature. It is much more susceptible of reverence and fear. Having taken a resolution, in my opinion, rather brave than rash, of throwing himself weak and naked into this tempestuous sea of madmen, he ought boldly to have stemmed the tide, and not have suffered himself to be carried away with it ; whereas, when he began to see his danger near at hand, his nose happening to bleed, that easy smiling countenance which he had assumed was changed into one of fear, his voice and eyes shewing both amazement and repentance, and by endeavouring to steal away and secure his person, he did but inflame them, and called them upon him.

A confidence in
suspected troops
which had a
happy issue.

A general review was once talked of, of certain forces under arms ; (that being the most likely opportunity of secret revenge, so that there is no place where it can be exercised with more safety) and it was public and notorious that it was not safe for some to come, whose principal and necessary office it was to view them. A council was held, and several things proposed, as in a matter not only of difficulty, but also of weight and consequence. One was, that they should above all things avoid giving the least sign of any mistrust, and that the officers most in danger should come with erect and open countenances, mingle themselves in the files, and instead of sparing fire (to which the other opinions inclined most) they should solicit the captains to fire in platoons, as a salvo to the spectators, and not to be sparing of their powder. This was so pleasing to the suspected troops, that from that time forwards, there subsisted a mutual confidence among them.

The measures
which Julius
Cæsar took to
gain the love of
his enemies.

I think, the method which Julius Cæsar took was the best that can be followed. In the first place, he endeavoured to win the hearts of his very enemies by clemency, contenting himself, when any conspiracy was

disco-

discovered to him, with the single declaration that he knew it before. This done, he took a noble resolution to expect, without solicitude or fear, whatever might be the event, abandoning and resigning himself to the care of the gods and fortune; for no doubt he was in this mind at the very instant he was killed.

A foreigner intimated, that if the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius, would give a good sum of money, he could inform him of a method how he might be certain of discovering all conspiracies which his subjects might form against him. Dionysius, hearing of it, sent for him, to teach him an art so necessary for his preservation: the person told him, that there was nothing more in the art, than that he should give him a (Roman) talent, and then boast that he had learnt a singular secret from him *. Dionysius approved of the contrivance, and ordered him 600 crowns. It was not likely that he should give so great a sum to a person unknown, but as a reward for a very useful discovery, the belief of which served to keep his enemies in awe. Princes, however, do very wisely to publish the advices they receive of practices against their lives, in order to create an opinion that they have good intelligence, and that nothing can be plotted against them, of which they have not some tidings. The duke of Athens did many ridiculous things in the establishment of his new tyranny over Florence; but the most remarkable was this, that having received the first intelligence of the conspiracies which the people were forming against him, by means of Mattheo di Morofo, their accomplice, he put him to death, in order to stifle the report, and that it might not be thought any man in the city disliked his government.

Advice to a tyrant, how to guard against any plots.

I remember to have formerly read a story of a certain Roman, a personage of dignity, who, in his flight from the tyranny of the Triumvirate, escaped a thousand times from

Extraordinary resolution.

* Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the ancient kings.

his pursuers by a thousand subtilties. It happened one day that a troop of horse, which was sent to take him, passed close by a brake in which he lay hid, and narrowly missed him. But he, considering the pain and hardships which he had already so long endured to escape the strict and continual search that was every where made for him, the little pleasure he could hope for in such a life, and how much better it was for him to die once for all, than to be perpetually in this dread ; he that instant called them back, shewed them where he hid himself, and voluntarily surrendered himself to their cruelty, in order to rid both himself and them of any farther trouble. To call upon an enemy to dispatch one, seems a little too rash ; yet, I think, he did better to take that course, than to live in continual apprehension, for which there was no other cure. But seeing that all the remedies which can be applied to such a case, are full of uneasiness and uncertainty, it is better to prepare with a good appearance for the work that may happen, and to be comforted with the consideration, that we are not certain that what we so much dread will come to pass.

C H A P. XXIV.

Of Pedantry.

Pedants condemned by the men of best sense.

I Was often vexed, when I was a boy, to see a pedant always brought in as a coxcomb in the Italian comedies, and that the title of master was in no greater esteem amongst us ; for as I was put under their tuition, could I help having a tenderness for their reputation ? I endeavoured indeed to excuse them from the natural disparity that is betwixt the vulgar, and persons of excellent and uncommon judgment and knowledge ; but in this I was nonplussed, when I found, that the men of the best sense were they who most heartily despised them, witness our famous poet Du Bellay.

Mais je bay par sur tout un sçavoir pedantesque.

But above all things I abominate pedantic learning.

And

And they used to do so in former times; for Plutarch says, that the terms Grecian and Scholar, were names of reproach and contempt among the Romans. Afterwards I found, by the experience of years, that they had abundant reason for it, and that * *magis magnos clericos non sunt magis magnos sapientes*; i. e. That the greatest scholars are not the wisest men. But how it should come to pass, that a mind enriched with the knowledge of so many things, does not thereby become the more quick and lively, and that a gross and common understanding should find room, without improving itself, for the discourses and judgments of the most excellent genius the world ever produced, I am yet to seek. A young lady, one of the first of our princesses, said to me once, speaking of a certain person, that he admitted so many wild and strange notions, and such strong conceptions, that his brains must be crowded and pressed together into a less compass, to make room for any others. I should be ready to conclude, that as plants are drowned with too much moisture, and lamps with too much oil, so too much study and business has the same effect upon the operation of the mind; which being employed and embarrassed by a variety of matter, has no power to throw off the weight, which keeps it bowed, and, as it were, benumbed: but it is quite otherwise; for the mind, the fuller it is, the more it expands itself; and, to look back to ancient times, we see men very sufficient for the management of public affairs, great captains and great statesmen, who were withal men of great learning. As to the philosophers, who were retired from all public affairs, their opinions and singularities have also sometimes exposed them to ridicule. Philosophers despised, and why. Would you make them judges of the merits of a law-suit, or of a man's actions? They are fully prepared for it, and straight begin to examine if there be life, if there be motion, if the man † be any other than an ox; what

* A kind of proverb, which is only mentioned in this rough manner to render the pretenders to learning the more ridiculous. You will find it in Rabelais, lib. i. cap. 29.

† If Montaigne has copied this from Plato's Theætetes, p. 127. F. as

what is active and passive, and what sort of animals law and justice are. Do they speak either of a magistrate, or to him, it is with an irreverent and uncivil freedom. Do they hear a † prince or a king commended, they treat him, at best, but as an idle shepherd, that busies himself only about milking and shearing his flock. Do you esteem any man of the greater consequence for being lord of 2000 acres of land *? They laugh at your regard, being accustomed to claim the whole world for their possession. Do you boast of your nobility, or their being descended from seven rich ancestors? they look upon you with contempt, as men that have no notion of the universal image of nature, and that do not consider how many predecessors every one of us have had, rich, poor, kings, slaves, Greeks, and Barbarians. And though you were the fiftieth descendant from Hercules, they think you vain to set such a value on this, which is only a gift of fortune. Consequently the vulgar scorned them, as men who were ignorant of the world.

The wide difference betwixt the ancient philosophers and our pedants.

But this Platonic picture does by no means resemble our pedants; for the philosophers were envied for thinking themselves better than the common sort of men, despising public affairs and transactions, affecting a particular manner of life, and discouraging in bombast and obsolete language. But the pedants are despised for being below the usual form, for being incapable of public offices, and, for their low-life manners, resembling the vulgar. *Odi homines, ignava opera, philosophica sententia* †; i. e. I hate the men who think like philosophers, but, at the same time are mere triflers. As for those same philosophers, I must needs say, that as they were great men in science, they were

it is plain by all which he has added immediately after, that he has taken it from that dialogue, he has grossly mistaken Plato's sentiment, who says here no more than this, that the philosopher is so ignorant of what his neighbour does, that he scarce knows whether he is a man, or some other animal; τὸν ταῦτον ὁ μὲν πλεῖστον καὶ ὁ γέλταν λήληθεν, εἰμοῖον ὅτι πωπάττει, ἀλλὰ λίγω καὶ εἰ ἀνθρώπος ἐστίν, ἢ τι ἄλλο θρέμμα.

† Plato's Theætetes, p. 128. A.

* Plato's Theætetes, p. 128. R. E.

† Pacuvius apud Aul. Gellius,

lib. xiii. cap. 8.

yet

yet much greater in all their actions, as it is said of the geometrician of Syracuse §, who, being disturbed in his contemplation, in order to put some of his skill in practice for the defence of his country, suddenly set on foot certain terrible engines, which wrought effects beyond all human belief; yet, nevertheless, he himself despised his own handywork, thinking, that, by playing the mechanic, he had debased the dignity of his art, of which he reckoned those performances but trivial exertions, by way of experiment. So they sometimes, when they have been put upon the proof of action, have been seen to fly to so high a pitch, that it plainly appeared their hearts and souls were elevated to a strange degree, while their minds were enriched with the knowledge of things. Nay some, who saw the reins of government seized by persons incapable of holding them, have avoided all share in the management of affairs. And he who asked Crates, how long he thought it necessary to philosophize, received for answer, “As long as our armies are commanded by blockheads*.”

Heraclitus resigned the † royalty to his brother; and the Ephesians reproaching him for spending his time in playing with boys before the temple, “Is it not better,” said ‡ he, to do so, than to sit at the helm of affairs “with you?” Others, having their thoughts elevated above the world and fortune, have looked upon the tribunals of justice, and even the thrones of kings, with an eye of contempt and scorn. Thus Empedocles refused the royalty which was offered to him by the Agrigentines ||. Thales, once inveighing against the care and pains men took to grow rich, was compared to the fox, who said of the grapes which he could not come at, that

‡ Archimedes, in Plutarch's Life of Marcellus, ch. 6. of Amyot's translation.

* Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Crates, lib. vi. sect. 92.

† Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Heraclitus, lib. ix. sect. 6. By *Basilea* is to be understood, according to Menage, not royalty in the proper sense of the word, but a particular office which was so styled at Ephesus, as well as at Athens and Rome, after their renunciation of a monarchical government.

‡ Ibidem, sect. 3.

|| Diogenes, in the Life of Empedocles, lib. viii. f. 63.

they were four; whereupon he had a mind, for the jest's sake, to shew them an experiment to the contrary; and after having prostituted his learning in the search of profit and gain, he set up a traffick §, which in less than a year brought him so much wealth, that the most experienced in the business were scarce able, with all their industry and œconomy, to rake so much together in their whole lives. What Aristotle reports of some, who termed Thales, Anaxagoras, and the like sort of men *wise*, but not *prudent*, for not taking due care of the main chance, though I do not well digest the difference of those epithets, will not however serve as an excuse for my pedants; for to consider the low and necessitous fortunes with which they are contented, we have rather reason to pronounce, that they are neither wise nor prudent.

Men of learning
contemptible for
their wrong
education.

But, to give up this first reason, I think it better to say, that the misfortune arises from their wrong method of applying themselves to the sciences, and that, after the manner in which we are instructed, it is no wonder if neither the scholars or the masters are a whit the more capable of business, though they are the more learned. In truth, the care and expence our parents are at, have no other aim, but to furnish our heads with knowledge, but not a word of judgment and virtue. Cry out of one that passes by, "O! what a learned man is that!" and of another, "O! what a good man is that!" the people will not fail to turn their eyes, and pay their respects to the former. There should then be a third man to cry out, "O! what blockheads are they!" Men are ready to ask, does he understand Greek or Latin? Is he a poet or prose writer? But whether he is the better or more discreet man, though it is the main question, is the last; for the enquiry should be, who has the best learning, not who has the most.

§ Cicero de Divinatione, lib. i. cap. 49. says, that Thales, in order to shew, that it was possible, even for a philosopher, if he pleased, to get an estate, bought up all the olive trees in the Milesian field before they were in bloom. See Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Thales, lib. i. sect. 76.

We only take pains to stuff the memory, and leave the understanding and conscience quite unfurnished. As the birds which fly abroad to forage for grain, bring it home in the beak, without tasting it themselves, to feed their young, just so our pedants pick knowledge out of several authors, and hold it at their tongue's end, to spit out and distribute it abroad. It is strange to think how guilty I myself am of this very folly; for do I not the same thing almost throughout this whole treatise? I cull here and there out of several books such sentences as please me, not to keep them in my memory (for I have none to retain them), but to transplant them into this work, where, to say the truth, they are no more mine than they were in the places from whence I took them.

They only study to load the memory.

We are, as I conceive, only skilled in the knowledge of the present, and not at all of what is past, or to come; but the worst of it is, the scholars and pupils of these pedants are no better nourished or improved by it, and it passes from one hand to another for this purpose, only to make a shew of it in conversation, and story-telling, like those glittering counters, which are of no other use or service but to play or count a game with. *Apud alios loqui didicerunt, non ipsi secum**; i. e. they have learned to converse with others, but not with themselves. *Non est loquendum, sed gubernandum* †; the business is not to talk, but to manage.

They only aim at making a vain display of their learning.

Nature, to shew that its conduct is not wild, does often, in nations which are the least cultivated by art, give rise to productions of genius, such as are a match for the greatest efforts of art. In relation to what I am now speaking of, the Gascon proverb derived from a reed pipe, has a delicate meaning, *Bouba pro bouba, mas a remuda lous dits qu'em*; i. e. You may blow your heart out, but if once you stir your fingers, it is all over. We can exclaim, says Cicero, these were the morals of Plato; these the very words of Aristotle: but what do we say

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 36.

† Senec. Epist. 108.

ourselves that is our own? What is it we do? What is our own judgment? A parrot would say as much to the purpose as this.

The stupidity of a Roman, who fancied himself a man of learning, because he had learned men in his pay.

This puts me in mind of that wealthy Roman, who had taken care, though at a very great expence, to collect able men in every science, whom he kept continually in his company, to the end, that if amongst his friends any topic of discourse should be started, they might supply his place, and be ready to prompt him, one with * a saying, another with a verse of Homer, &c. every one according to his talent; and he fancied this knowledge to be his own, because it was in the heads of those whom he retained about him; as they also do whose fund of learning lies in their sumptuous libraries. I know one, who, when I ask him a question, calls for a book to shew me the answer; and he would not even have the courage to tell me he has the piles, without having immediate recourse to his dictionary to find out the meaning of the words Scab and Fundament.

Learning is useless farther than it is our own.

We take other mens opinions upon trust, and give ourselves no manner of trouble; whereas we should make them our own. In this we seem to be very like the man, who, wanting fire, went to his neighbour's house to fetch it†, and finding a very good one there, stayed to warm himself by it, but never remembered to carry any home with him. Of what service is it to us to have a bellyfull of

† Claviseus Sabinus. He lived in the time of Seneca; who, besides what Montaigne here says of him, reports stories that are even more ridiculous of this rich impertinent, Epist. 27.

* His memory was so bad, that he every now and then forgot the names of Ulysses, Achilles, and Priam, though he had known them as well as we knew our pedagogues; yet he had a mind to be thought learned, and invented this compendious method, viz. he bought slaves at a great price, one who was master of Homer, another of Hesiod, and nine of lyrick poetry, to whom he, every now and then, had recourse for verses, which in rehearsing he often stopt in the middle of a verse, yet he thought he knew as much as any one in the house did. Seneca, *ibid.*

† This comparison may be found at the end of Plutarch's treatise of hearing; and from thence it is no doubt that Montaigne took it, because he expresses it almost in the very words of Amyot's translation.

meat,

meat, if it does not digest, if it does not change its form in our bodies, and if it does not nourish and strengthen us? Can we imagine that Lucullus, whose learning, without any manner of experience, made and formed him so great a commander, acquired it after our manner? We suffer ourselves to lean so much upon the arms of others, that our strength is of no use to us. Would I fortify myself against the fear of death, I do it at the expence of Seneca; would I extract consolation for myself or my friend, I borrow it from Cicero; whereas I might have found it in myself, if I had been trained up in the exercise of my own reason. I do not fancy this acquiescence in second-hand hearsay knowledge; for though we may be learned by the help of another's knowledge, we can never be wise but by our own wisdom.

Μισῶ σοφιστὴν ὅστις ἐχ' αὐτῷ σοφός. * i. e.

Who in his own concern's not wise,

I that man's wisdom do despise.

Therefore, says Ennius, *Nequidquam sapere sapientem, qui ipsi sibi prodesse non quiret* †; i. e. Vain is the wisdom of that sage who cannot profit himself by it.

———*si cupidus, si*

Vanus, et Euganeâ quantumvis mollior agnâ ‡. i. e.

If he is covetous, a liar, or effeminate.

Non enim paranda nobis solum, sed fruenda sapientia est || i. e. For wisdom is not only to be acquired, but enjoyed.

Dionysius § laughed at the grammarians, who were so solicitous to know what were the miseries which Ulysses suffered, and do not know their own; at musicians, who are so exact in tuning their instruments, and never tune

* The words of Euripides, as Cicero tells us, Ep. 15. to Cæsar, lib. xiii.

† Cicero de Offic. lib. iii. cap. 15.

‡ Juv. Sat. viii. ver. 14, 15.

|| Cicero de Finib. lib. i. cap. 1.

§ In all the editions of Montaigne which I have seen, without excepting Mr. Cotton's translation, Dionysius is mentioned; yet the wise reflections which Montaigne here ascribes to Dionysius, were made by Diogenes the cynic, as may be seen in that philosopher's life written by Diogenes Laertius, lib. vi. sect 27, 28.

their manners; and at orators, who study to declare what is justice, but not to perform it. If our mind takes so wrong a bias, and if the judgment be so unsound, I should have liked it altogether as well, if my scholar had spent his time at tennis, for then the body would at least have acquired greater agility. Do but observe him when he is come from school, after spending fifteen or sixteen years there; nothing is so unfit for business. All that you find in him more than he had before he went thither, is, that his Latin and his Greek have rendered him only a greater, and a more conceited coxcomb than he was when he went from home. He ought to have returned with his head well furnished, whereas it is only puffed up, and inflated.

The character
of pretenders
to learning.

These sparks, as Plato says of the sophists, their cousins-german, are of all men those who promise to be the most useful to their fellow-creatures, and who alone, of all men, do only not amend what is committed to them, as a carpenter and a mason does, but make bad worse, and take pay for it to boot. If the rule which Protagoras proposed to his pupils was followed, either that they should give him his own demand, or take an oath in the temple, what value they set upon the advantage they had received from his discipline, and satisfy him accordingly for his trouble; my pedagogues would be horridly frustrated, especially if they were to be judged by the testimony of my experience. In my vulgar Perigordin language such finatterers in learning are pleasantly called *lettre-ferits*, as if one should say, they were letter-marked, or had letters stamped on them by the stroke of a mallet; and, in truth, they seem, for most part, to be sunk even below common sense. For you see the peasant and the cobbler go simply and honestly in their own way, speaking only of what they know and understand; whereas these fellows are continually perplexing and intangling themselves, in order to make a parade of that knowledge, which floats only on the superficies of the brain. They say a good thing sometimes, but let another apply it. They are wonderfully well acquainted with Galen,
but

but not at all with the disease of the patient. They have stuffed your ears with the laws, but know nothing of the merits of the case: they have the theory of every thing, but you must seek for others to put it in practice.

I have fate by when a friend of mine, at my own house, for sport's sake, has, with one of these fellows, counterfeited a jargon of unconnected gibberish, patched up of various pieces, without head or tail, saying that he interlarded certain terms, here and there, which were peculiar to the subject of their dispute; by which means he amused the blockhead in debating the point, from morning to night, who thought he had always fully answered every objection: and yet this was a man of letters and reputation, and had a fine robe.

Character of a
true pedant.

*Vos O patricius sanguis, quos vivere fas est
Occipiti cæco, posticæ occurrite sannæ *.* i. e.

Ye nobles, whom flatterers easily blind,
Be guarded against a scar from behind.

Whoever narrowly pries into this kind of men, whose number is very extensive, will, as I have done, find that, for the most part, they neither understand themselves nor others, and that, though they have strong memories, their judgment is very shallow, unless where nature itself has given them another turn, as I observed in Adrianus Turnebus, who, though he never made other profession than that of learning only, in which, in my opinion, he was the greatest man that has been these thousand years, yet had nothing pedantic about him, but the wear of his robe, and a certain external fashion that was uncourtly, which are things of no moment; and I hate our people who dislike the pedant worse than his impertinence, and take their measure of a man's understanding by the bow he makes, his very gesture, and even by his boots. For within this outside of his there was not a more illustriously soul upon earth. I have often, for the purpose, started subjects to him to which he was quite unac-

* Pers. Sat. i. ver. 61, 62.

customed, wherein I found he had so clear an insight, so quick an apprehension, and so solid a judgment, that one would have thought he had never been practised in any thing but arms, and affairs of state. These endowments of nature have such beauty and vigour,

——— *Quibus arte benignâ,*

Et melior luto finxit præcordia Titan †. i. e.

The sun having of clay much more refin'd,

With greater accuracy form'd their mind ;

that they keep their ground in defiance of a bad education. But it is not enough that our education does not spoil us, it is necessary that it should alter us for the better.

Knowledge ought
to be accompanied
with judgment.

There are some of our parliaments, which, when they are to admit any officers, examine only into their learning; others also add the trial of their understanding, by asking their judgment of some law-case. The latter seem to me to proceed in the best method. And though both are absolutely necessary, and it is requisite that they should be defective in neither, yet, in truth, judgment is to be preferred to science, the former of which may make shift without the latter, but not the latter without the former: for, as the Greek verse says,

Ὅς εἰδὼν ἢ μάθους ἢ μὴ ὅς παρῆν. i. e.

Learning is usefess, without wit and sense.

Would to God, that, for the sake of justice, our courts of judicature were as well furnished with understanding and conscience as they are with knowledge. *Non vitæ sed scholæ, dicimus*, says Seneca *; we do not study to live, but to dispute. Now learning is not to be made a mere appendix to the mind, but to be incorporated with it: it must not only be tinged with it, but thoroughly dyed; and if it does not change and meliorate its imperfect state, it were, without question, better to let it alone.

† Juv. Sat. xiv. ver. 34, 35.

* Ep. 106. in fine.

A little learning is a dangerous thing,
 Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring :
 For shallow draughts intoxicate the brain,
 But drinking deeply sobers us again.

It is a dangerous weapon, and if in weak hands that know not how to use it, it will embarrass and hurt its master, *Ut fuerit melius non didicisse* † ; so that it would have been better not to have learned at all. This perhaps is the cause, that neither we nor divinity require much learning in women, and that Francis duke of Brittany, son of John V. when, in talking of his marriage with Isabel, the daughter of Scotland, he was told, that she was homely bred, and without any manner of learning, he made answer, “ that he liked her the better for “ it ; and that a woman was learned enough, if she “ could distinguish betwixt her husband’s shirt, and his “ doublet.”

It is therefore no such great wonder, as they make of it, that our ancestors held learning in no great esteem, and that, even to this day, it is but seldom to be met with in the privy councils of our kings ; and were it not for enriching ourselves (which is the only thing we propose now a-days, by the means of law, physic, pedantry, and even divinity itself), you would no doubt see it in as despicable a state as ever. What pity then would it be if it neither instructed us to think well, nor to do well ? *Postquam docti prodierunt, boni desinunt* *. Since the appearance of learned men, good men are become scarce. All other knowledge is detrimental to him who has not the science of becoming a good man.

Whether learning be absolutely necessary.

But may not the reason I touched upon just now also proceed from hence, that our study in France having, as it were, no other view but profit, few of those who are formed by nature for offices rather of dignity than gain, apply themselves to learning, or for so little a while (being taken from their studies before they have had a relish for them, to some

Every kind of genius is not capable of being made better by learning.

† Cicero Tusc. Quest. lib. ii. cap. 4.

* Seneca, Epist. 95.

profession which has nothing to do with books) that, generally speaking, there are none left to apply themselves wholly to study but people of mean education, who only study learning for a livelihood. And the minds of such people being by nature, and domestic education and example, of the basest alloy, make a wrong use of learning. For it is not for knowledge to furnish light to a dark soul, nor to make a blind man see. Its business is not to find a man eyes, but to clear them, and to regulate a man's steps, provided he have good feet and legs of his own. Knowledge is an excellent drug, but no drug has virtue enough to preserve itself from corruption and decay, if the vessel into which it is put be not sound and sweet. A man may have a clear sight who looks a-squint, and consequently sees what is good, but does not follow it, and sees knowledge, but makes no use of it. Plato's principal institution in his Republic, is to fit his subjects with employments suitable to their nature. Nature can do every thing, and does every thing. Cripples are not fit for exercises of the body, nor weak understandings for those of the mind. Philosophy is too sublime for degenerate and vulgar minds. When we see a shoemaker ill shod, we say it is no wonder. Thus, it seems, we often find, by experience, a physician worse doctored, a divine worse reformed, and consequently a scholar of less sufficiency than other men. Aristo of Chios had anciently reason to say *, that philosophers did their auditors more harm than good, because most of them are not capable of receiving benefit by such instructions, on which they were too apt to put a bad interpretation; so that † ἀσώτως, *ex Aristippi, acerbo ex Zenonis schola exire*; i. e. That they went away debauchees from the school of Aristippus, and sour churls from that of Zeno.

The Persians gave their children a virtuous, instead of a learned education.

In that excellent institution which Xenophon ascribes to the Persians, we find, that they taught their children virtue, as other nations instruct them in letters. Plato says, that the ‡ eldest son in the

* Cic. de Nat. Deor lib. iii. cap. 31. † Ibid. ‡ In the first Alcibiades, p. 32.

† Ibid. ‡ In the first Alcibiades, p. 32.

royal succession was thus tutored. As soon as he was born, he was delivered, not to women, but to the eunuchs of the greatest authority about their kings for their virtue, whose charge it was to keep his body in health and good plight, and after he came to seven years of age, to teach him to ride, and to go a hunting. When he attained to fourteen, they transferred him into the hands of four the wisest, the most just, the most temperate, and the most valiant men of the nation. The first instructed him in religion, the second taught him to be always honest, the third to be the master of his appetites, and the fourth to despise all danger.

It is a thing worthy of very great consideration, that in that excellent, and, in truth, for its perfection, prodigious form of civil regimen, proposed by Lycurgus, though solicitous of the education of children, as a thing of the greatest concern, and even in the very seat of the Muses, he should make so little mention of learning, as if their generous youth, disdaining any other yoke but that of virtue, ought to be furnished only with such masters as should instruct in valour, prudence, and justice, instead of being put under our masters of the sciences; an example which Plato has followed in his laws. The form of their discipline was, to propound questions to them upon the judgment of men and their actions; and if they commended or condemned either this or that person or fact, they were obliged to give their reason for so doing; by which means they at once sharpened their understanding, and became skilful in the law. Astyages in Xenophon*, having demanded of Cyrus an account of his last lesson, he made this answer, viz. “ A tall boy in our school, having a
 “ cassock too short, took another, by force, from one
 “ of his companions who was not so tall, and gave him
 “ his own in exchange. Our master having made me
 “ judge of this dispute, I thought it best for both of
 “ them to keep the cassock he then had, for that each
 “ of them was better accommodated with the other’s

The Lacedæmonian youth bred up to every thing but literature

* Xenophon's Cyropædia, lib. i. cap. 3. sect. 14.

“cassock than with his own. But my master told me
 “I had given wrong judgment; for I had only confi-
 “dered the fitness of the garments, whereas I ought
 “principally to have had regard to strict justice, which
 “requires that no one should be deprived of his pro-
 “perty by force.” And young Cyrus added, that he
 was lashed for it, as we are in our villages, for forgetting
 the first aorist of *τυπῶ*. My pedagogue must make me
 a fine oration, *in genere demonstrativo*, before he can per-
 suade me that his school is as good as that. They chose
 to shorten the way, and forasmuch as the sciences, when
 they are rightly pursued and applied, cannot but teach
 us prudence, fidelity, and resolution, they thought fit to
 initiate their children in the knowledge of the effects,
 and to instruct them, not by hearsay, but by the proof
 of the action, in vigorously forming and moulding them,
 not only by words and precepts, but chiefly by works
 and examples, to the end that it might not only be a
 knowledge of the mind, but become constitutional and
 habitual, and not barely an acquisition, but a natural
 possession. Agefilaus being asked for the purpose,
 “What the thought most proper for boys to learn?”
 replied, “What they ought to do when they come to
 “be men.” No wonder if such an institution produced
 such admirable effects.

The difference
 betwixt the in-
 struction given
 to the children
 of Sparta, and to
 those of Athens.

It is said, they used to go to the other
 cities of Greece, in quest of rhetoricians,
 painters, and musicians; but to Lacedæ-
 mon for legislators, magistrates, and
 generals of armies; at Athens they learn-
 ed to speak well; at Lacedæmon to act well; at Athens
 to get clear out of a sophistical argument, and to unrav-
 el ensnaring syllogisms; at Lacedæmon to escape the
 baits of pleasure, and with a noble courage to with-
 stand the menaces of fortune and death. The Athe-
 nians cudgelled their brains about words, the Lacedæ-
 monians about things? at Athens there was an eternal
 babble of the tongue, at Lacedæmon a continual exer-
 cise of the mind: therefore it is no wonder, that, when
 Antipater demanded fifty of their children for hostages,
 they

they made answer, quite contrary to what we should do, that they would rather give him twice the number of full grown men, such a value did they set upon their children's domestic education *. When Agesilaus courted Xenophon to send his children to be bred up at Sparta, it was not that they should learn rhetoric there or logic, but to be instructed, he said, in the noblest of all sciences, viz. how to obey, and how to command †.

It is pleasant to see Socrates, after his manner, rallying Hippias, when he tells him what a sum of money he had got by teaching school, especially in certain little villages of Sicily, but that at Sparta he did not get one penny. What idiots are they, said Socrates ‡, who know nothing of mensuration nor numeration, and make no account either of grammar or poetry, and only amuse themselves in studying the succession of kings, the settlement and declension of states, and the like kind of stuff § ! And, after all, Socrates having made him, from one step to another, acknowledge the excellency of their form of public administration, and the felicity and virtue of their private life, leaves him to guess what inference he draws from the inutility of his pedantic arts.

How Socrates bantered a sophist who had got nothing at Sparta.

Examples have taught us, that in military affairs, and all others of that kind, the study of the sciences damps and enervates the courage of men rather than quickens and rouses it. The most potent empire, that appears to be at this day in the whole world, is that of the Turks, a people who have a great esteem for arms, and as hearty a contempt for literature. I find that Rome was more valiant before she grew so learned. The most warlike nations in our days are the most stupid, and the most ignorant, of which the Scythians, Parthians, and the great Tamerlane may serve as a proof. When the Goths ravaged Greece, the only thing that preserved all the libraries

The sciences damp courage.

* Plutarch in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

† Plutarch in the Life of Agesilaus, cap. 7.

‡ Plato's Hippias Major, p. 96.

§ Idem, p. 97.

from being burnt, was an opinion which one of their body possessed them with, that it was absolutely the best way to leave all that furniture entire in the enemy's hands, as it would tend to divert them from the exercise of arms, and incline them to a lazy and sedentary life. When our king Charles VIII. as it were without drawing his sword, saw himself possessed of the kingdom of Naples, and of a great part of Tuscany, the nobility about him attributed this unexpected facility of conquest to this, that the princes and nobles of Italy studied more to render themselves ingenious and learned, than vigorous and warlike.

C H A P. XXV.

Of the Education of Children.

To Madame DIANA DE FOIX, Countess de GURSON.

What was the amount of Montaigne's acquaintance with literature.

I Never yet saw that father who would not own his son, were he ever so crooked or scabby; not that he is insensible of his defects, unless he be altogether intoxicated with affection, but still he is his child. So, for my own part, I perceive more clearly than any body, that these Essays of mine are but the idle whimsies of a man who only nibbled on the outward rind of the sciences in his nonage, and has only retained a vague and imperfect idea of them, a little smatch of every thing, and nothing thoroughly *a la mode de Françoise*. For I know, in general, that there is such a science as physic, a knowledge in the laws, four parts or branches of the mathematics, and have a gross idea of what all these aim at. Perhaps too, I know what the sciences contribute to that benefit of human life; but to dive farther than that, and to have bit my nails in the study of Aristotle, the monarch of all modern learning, or to have bent my study entirely to any one science, is what I never did, nor is there any one art, of which I can so much as draw the first lineaments; inasmuch that there

is

is not a school-boy of the lower classes, but may presume to say he is a better scholar than I am, who have not ability sufficient to examine him in his first lesson: and if I am at any time forced upon it, I am constrained to put some general questions to him, wide from the point, upon which I try his natural judgment, a lesson as much unknown to him, as his is to me.

I have not settled a correspondence with any books of solid learning but Plutarch and Seneca, and from them, like the Danaides, I am continually filling and pouring out; so that what I endeavour to make my own, is next a-kin to nothing. History is my favourite subject, or else poetry, which I am particularly fond of: for, as Cleanthes said, in the same manner as the voice strained through the narrow passage of a trumpet comes out stronger and shriller, just so, methinks, a sentence enforced by the numerous measures of poetry, is much more striking both to my ear and apprehension. As to the natural parts I have, of which this is a specimen, I find them to bow under the burden: my fancy and judgment do but grope in the dark, staggering, tripping, and stumbling; and when I have gone as far as I can, I am by no means satisfied; I see more land still before me, but so wrapped in clouds, that my dim sight cannot distinguish what it is. And as I take upon me to treat indifferently of whatever comes into my head, and therein trust intirely to my own natural talents, if I happen, as I often do, to find in good authors those very topics which I have attempted to write upon (as I did very lately in Plutarch's Discourse of the Strength of Imagination) to see myself so weak and insipid, so dull and sleepy in comparison of those writers, I either pity or despise myself. Yet it is some pleasure to me to find that my opinions have frequently the honour to tally with their's, and that I follow in the same track, though at a great distance; saying that they are in the right; and I have this quality, which every one cannot boast of, of knowing the wide difference betwixt them and me. Nevertheless, I give vent to my own sentiments, weak and flat as they are, without

Plutarch and
Seneca the fa-
vourite books of
Montaigne.

out correcting or supplying their faults and defects; which I have discovered by this comparison.

Modern writers discover the poverty of their genius, by pillaging the ancients.

A man had need have a good strong back, to keep pace with these people. The indiscreet scriblers of our age, who foist into their worthless productions whole paragraphs from the ancient authors, to give themselves a reputation, act in a quite contrary manner; for the infinite dissimilitude of ornaments, render the complexion of their own compositions, so pale, fallow, and deformed, that they lose much more than they gain by it. The philosophers Chrysippus and Epicurus were in this respect of quite opposite humours; Chrysippus not only mixed passages out of other authors in his books, but entire pieces; and in one, the whole *Medea* of Euripides, which gave Apollodorus occasion to say *, that were a man to pick out of his writings all that he had stolen from others, his paper would be a mere blank. † Epicurus on the contrary in 300 volumes that he has left behind him, has not so much as one quotation. I happened the other day to light upon a French book, in which, after I had been dragged a good while over a number of words, so lifeless, so bald, and so void of all substance and meaning, that, in truth, they were only French words; after a long and tedious travel, I met at last with a piece that was rich, sublime, and elevated to the very clouds, of which, had I found the declivity easy, or the ascent a little more accessible, it had been excusable: but it was so steep a precipice, and so detached from the rest of the work, that, by the six first words, I found myself flying into the other world, and, from thence, discovered the bog from whence I came, so deep and low, that I had not the heart to descend down to it any more. If I were to stuff one of my discourses with such rich spoils as these, it would only the more expose the nakedness of the others. To find fault with others for what I am guilty of myself, appears to me no more inconsistent

* Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Chrysippus, lib. vii. sect. 131, 132.

† Idem, in the Life of Epicurus, lib. x. sect. 26.

than to condemn, as I often do, the faults of others in myself. They are to be every reproved, and ought to have no sanctuary allowed them : yet I know how confidently I myself make bold at every turn, to set my style on a level with what I steal from other authors, and to make it keep pace with them, not without the rash presumption, that I shall be able so to impose on the judgment of my readers*, and that they will not be able to discern the difference ; but this is as much owing to my application, as to my invention and capacity. Besides, I do not wrestle with the whole body of those veteran heroes, nor with any one of them singly ; it is only by gentle skirmishes that I engage them. I am not dogmatical but by their mettle, and do not engage so far as I make a shew of doing : yet if I could hold them tack I were a brave fellow ; for I never assault them on the weakest side. For a man to cover himself (as I have seen some do) with another's armour, so as not to let his fingers ends be seen ; to carry on his design (as it is easy for scholars to do in a common affair) under old inventions patched up, and then endeavour to conceal the plagiarism, and to make it pass for his own, is in the first place injustice and meanness of spirit in such men, who have nothing of value of their own to recommend them, seek to graft a reputation entirely upon the stock of others. In the next place, it is ridiculous folly to content themselves, with the ignorant approbation of the vulgar, by such a pitiful fraud, and be disparaged by men of understanding, the only persons whose praise is of any credit, who snuff with disdain, at such borrowed patch-work. For my own part, there is nothing I would not rather do than that. I only speak of others that I may more expressly speak of myself and be informed what conduct I ought to pursue in this point ; neither do I hereby in the least glance, at the professed composers of Centos †, of which I have seen some who

* What Montaigne here says of himself is strictly true ; of which a proof may be seen in the xxi. Chapter of this first Book : and, upon occasion, I have given others as palpable.

† This is a term given to a piece of poetry composed of verses, or the ends of verses taken from one or more authors, to express any thing

were very ingenious ; particularly one of the name of Capilupus *, besides others of greater antiquity †. These are wits, who manifest themselves to be such, both by that, and compositions of other kinds, as Lipsius, in that learned and laborious system of his politics.

The judgment
which Mon-
taigne forms of
his work.

Be this as it will, and how trifling soever these Essays of mine are, I will frankly own I never thought of concealing them, any more than my bald grizzled pate before them, where the graver has presented you not with a true face, but the resemblance of mine. For these also are but my own particular humours, and opinions ; and I deliver them as no other than what I myself believe, and not for what ought to be believed by others. I have no aim in this writing, but to lay myself open, who perhaps shall be of another mind tomorrow, if I am altered by fresh instruction. I have no authority to be believed, neither do I desire it, being conscious that I have not been instructed well enough myself to teach another.

His opinion concerning the education of children.

A friend of mine therefore having read the foregoing chapter the other day, told me at my own house, that I should have enlarged a little more on the education of children. Now, Madam, if I have a talent equal to the task, I could not employ it better, than to devote it to the little gentleman, which is like, ere long, to be

but the very thing that the verses signify in the authors from whence they have been borrowed.

* Lelius Capilupus, a native of Mantua who flourished in the 16th century, was famous for compositions of this kind, as may be seen under his name in Bayle's Dictionary, who says that the Cento, which he wrote against the monks, is inimitable ; it is to be found at the end of the *Regnum Papisticum* of Neogeorgas. He wrote one also against the women, which Mr. Bayle also mentions as a very ingenious piece, but too satirical. It was inserted in a Collection intitled *Baudii Amores*, printed at Leyden in 1638. This Lelius had a nephew named Julius Capilupus, who signalized himself by Centos, and even had a talent for it superior to his uncle, if we may believe Possevin. *Poet. select. lib. 17. 24.* But let Montaigne, Bayle, and Possevin, say what they will, it is a happiness for learning that compositions of this sort, the style of which cannot but be full of expressions, harsh, improper, and dogmatical, are neglected.

† As the Centos of Ausonius, composed wholly out of the Verses of Virgil.

the

the happy issue of your body (you being of too good blood to begin otherwise than with a male.) For having had so great a hand in your marriage treaty, I have a certain right and interest in the grandeur and prosperity of the issue that shall spring from it, besides that the long claim you have had to my service, sufficiently obliged me to wish honour and happiness to all that you have a value for. But in truth, what I mean by it is this : that the thing of the greatest difficulty and importance to human science, is the nurture and education of children. As in agriculture, the methods to be taken before planting are, as well as the planting itself, certain and easy, but after that which is planted comes to take root and shoot up, there is a great deal of trouble and difficulty in raising it ; so it is with the human race *. The getting of children requires no great industry ; but after they are born, then begins the trouble, anxiety, and care of training and bringing them up.

The display of their inclinations is so faint, and so obscure at this tender age, and what they seem to promise is so uncertain and fallacious, that it is extremely difficult to form any solid judgment of them, as Cimon, Themistocles, and a thousand others, who have become very different men from what people expected. Cubs of bears, and puppy-dogs, make a full discovery of their natural inclinations ; but men, as soon as grown up, applying themselves to certain usages, opinions, and laws, easily alter, or at least disguise their real inclinations. And yet it is difficult to force natural propensity ; whence it comes to pass, that, for want of having chosen the right course, a man often takes very great pains, and spends great part of his life in training up children to things for which they are altogether unfit. In this difficulty, nevertheless, I

The great difficulty of guessing by the first actions of children what they will be hereafter.

* This which seems so natural a sentiment, is taken from one of Plato's Dialogues, intituled Theages, where a father applying with his son to Socrates, to consult him to whom he should put his son for education, made the very same remark as Montaigne has in this place. See Plato in Theages, p. 88. printed at Frankfort, 4to. 1602.

am clearly of opinion, that they ought to be initiated in the best and most profitable studies, and that little heed ought to be given to those slight presages and prognostications which we happen to conceive of them in their tender years, on which Plato in his Republic, seems, methinks, to lay too much stress.

Of what advantage learning is.

As for learning, it is certainly, madam, a great ornament, and a qualification of wonderful service, especially to persons raised to such a degree of fortune as your ladyship. But it has not its proper use in persons of mean and low circumstances, it being more forward to assist in the carrying on of war, in the government of people, and in negotiating alliances with a foreign prince or nation, than to form a syllogism in logic, to plead an appeal, or to prescribe a dose of physic. Wherefore, madam, believing you will not omit this so necessary an article in the education of your descendants, as you yourself have tasted the sweets of it, and are of learned extraction (for we still have the writings of the ancient counts de Foix, from whom both the count your husband and you are descended, and M. de Candale your uncle, every day obliges the world with others, which will extend the knowledge of this quality in your family to many succeeding ages), I will, upon this occasion, mention a particular fancy of my own, contrary to the common practice, and this is all that I am able to contribute for your ladyship's service in this particular.

The success of a child's education depends on the choice of a governor.

The charge of the governor you shall appoint for your son, upon the choice of whom the success of his education entirely depends, consists of several branches, which I shall not touch upon, as being unable to add any thing valuable to them; and as to that on which I take upon me to give him my advice, he may follow it so far, and no farther than he thinks it plausible or rational. For a boy of quality then, who covets learning not for gain (for so mean a view as that is unworthy of the grace and favour of the Muses, besides that it has a foreign regard and dependence), nor so much for the profit of others, as for his own, and to furnish

furnish and enrich himself within, having rather a desire to turn out a man of abilities than a mere scholar, I would advise his friends to be careful of chusing him a tutor who is a man of a good headpiece, rather than a perfect book-worm, though both judgment and learning are requisite, but manners and understanding rather than science; and that his tutor should perform this office in a new method.

The custom of tutors is, to be continually thundering in their pupil's ears, as if they were pouring into a funnel, and our task is only to repeat what they have said to us before. I would have the tutor to correct this fault, and that, at the very first, he should, according to the capacity of the lad he has to manage, begin to put it to the test, by permitting his pupil himself to taste things, and to chuse and distinguish them, sometimes opening the way for him, and sometimes not. What I mean is, that he should not invent and speak all himself, but that he should also hear his pupil speak in turn. Socrates, and afterwards Arcefilaus, made their scholars speak first, and then they spoke to them; *Obest plerumque iis qui discere volunt, auctoritas eorum qui docent* *; "The authority of those who teach, is very often a detriment to those who desire to learn." It is proper that he should put him upon a trot, like a young horse, before him, that he may judge of his capacity, and how much he is to abate of his own pace, to accommodate himself to that of the other. For want of this due proportion we spoil all; and to know how to chuse, and to keep within the exact measure, is one of the hardest tasks that I know. A man of a sublime genius, and strong parts, knows how, and when to form, indulge or condescend to these puerile motions, and to guide them. I walk firmer and more secure up hill than down; and such as, according to our common way of teaching, undertake with one and the same lesson, and the same method of instruction, to manage several genuises of such different sizes and ca-

The tutor of a lad ought to make him speak sometimes before, and sometimes after him.

* Cic. de Nat. Deorum, lib. i. cap. 5.

pacities, no wonder if in a multitude of children there are scarce two or three to be met with, who are the better for their discipline. The tutor should not only examine him as to the words of his lesson, but as to their meaning and import; and should judge of the improvement he has made in his learning, not by the testimony of his memory, but by that of his conduct. Let him exhibit his lesson in a hundred views, and accommodate it to as many different subjects, in order to see if he yet rightly comprehend it, and is master of it, forming his progress by the model of those admirable institutions in the Dialogues of Plato. It is a sign of crudity and indigestion to disgorge any thing in the same form it was swallowed, and the stomach has not performed its office, if it has not altered the figure and shape of what was committed to it for concoction. So our minds take things upon trust, while they are constrained to follow other men's fancies. We have been so subjected to the trammel, that we have no free pace of our own; our vigour and liberty are extinct, *Nunquam tutelæ suæ sunt**; "They are ever in wardship, and never enjoy their own." I had a private interview at Pisa with an honest man, but so great an Aristotelian, that his general thesis was, "That the touchstone and standard of all solid imaginations, and of all truths, was their conformity to the doctrine of Aristotle; that all besides was vain and chimerical; for that he had seen all, and said all." This position, by being interpreted in too free and injurious a sense, brought and kept him a long time in great danger of the inquisition at Rome. Let the tutor make his pupil thoroughly sift every thing he reads, and lodge nothing in his fancy upon mere authority. Let the principles of Aristotle be no more principles to him than those of the Stoics or Epicureans: only let this diversity of opinions be laid before him; he will himself chuse, if he be able, if not, he will remain in doubt.

Che non menche saper dubiar m'aggrada †. i. e.

There is sometimes a merit in doubting, as well as in knowing.

* Senec. Ep. 33.

† Dante inferno, Canto ix. ver. 93.

For if he embrace the opinions of Xenophon and Plato, by his own discourse, they will be no longer their's, but his. He that follows another, follows nothing, finds nothing, nay, does not seek for any thing. *Non sumus sub rege, sibi quisque se vindicet* * ; “ We are not under a kingly government, let every man be at his own disposal.” Let him at least know that he knows. It will be necessary that he imbibe their juices, but not that he would learn their maxims; and no matter if he forget from whence he derived them, provided he knows how to appropriate them to his own use. Truth and reason are common to all men, and are no more his who first declared them, than his who declared them afterwards. It is no more according to Plato than according to me, since both he and I understand and perceive in the same manner. Bees suck the flowers here and there where they find them, but make their honey afterwards, which is all and purely their own, and no longer thyme and marjoram. So will the pupil transform and blend the several fragments he borrowed from others, in order to compile a work that shall be altogether his own; that is to say, his judgment, his instruction, his labour and study are to be wholly employed in forming such a work. He is not obliged to discover the sources from whence he had the least assistance, but only to produce what he himself has composed. Men that live upon pillage and mortgages, make a shew of their buildings, and their purchases, but do not discover how and where they had the money. You do not see the fees taken by a member of the parliament (of Paris), but you see the alliances with which he has strengthened his family, and the honours he has obtained for his children. No man accounts to the public for his revenue, but every one publishes his purchases.

The end of study is to become better and wiser. It is (said † Epicharmus) the understanding that sees and hears; it is

What ought to be the fruit of study.

* Seneca, Ep. 33.

† It is the general opinion of the learned, that Epicharmus had this passage in a book which he wrote upon the nature of things, of which

the understanding that turns every thing to advantage, that orders every thing, and that acts, rules, and reigns. All other things are blind, deaf, and lifeless. But certainly we render it timorous and cowardly, in not allowing it the liberty to do any thing of itself. Who ever asked his pupil, what he thought of rhetoric and grammar, or of such and such a sentence of Cicero! They are stuck full-feathered into our memory like oracles, of which the letters and the syllables are of the substance of the thing. To know by rote, is no knowledge; it is only a retention of what is intrusted to the memory. That which a man truly knows, may be disposed of without regard to the author, or reference to the book from whence he had it. A stock of mere bookish learning is a sad stock indeed! I grant that it may serve for an ornament, but not for a foundation, according to the opinion of Plato, who says, that true philosophy is compounded of constancy, faith and sincerity, and that the other sciences, that are directed to other views, are only counterfeits. I could wish that Paluel or Pompey, those famous dancing-masters of my time, could have taught us to cut capers by only seeing them do it, without ever stirring from our seats, as these men pretend to improve our understanding, without exercising it; or that we had learned to ride, handle a pike, touch a lute, or sing, without the trouble of practice, as these pretend to make us think, and speak well without exercising either our judgment or voice. Now, while we are learning, whatsoever presents itself before us, is a book sufficient; the unluckiness of a page, the blunder of a footman, or table-talk, are so many new subjects.

The utility of travelling to a young gentleman.

For this reason, an acquaintance with the world, and visiting foreign countries, is of wonderful service, not to bring back, as most of our noblesse do, an account of how many paces Santa Rotunda is in compass, or of the richness of Signiora Livia's linen drawers; or, as

there are only some fragments left. We find it also in the *Stromates* of Clement Alexandrin. lib. ii. in Plutarch, de *Solertia Animalium*, p. 961. printed at Paris in 1528, and in other books,

some

some others, how much Nero's face in a statue, in such an old ruin, is longer or broader than that stamped on some medal; but to be able chiefly to give an account of the humours and customs of those nations which they have visited, and that we may polish our wits by rubbing them upon those of others.

I would have a lad sent abroad very young, and (principally, in order to kill two birds with one stone) into those neighbouring nations whose language is most different from our own, and to which, if it be not formed betimes, the tongue cannot bend. It is also an opinion universally received, "That a child should not be brought up in his mother's lap." The natural affection of parents makes even the discreetest of them all so overfond, that they cannot find in their hearts either to chastise them for their faults, nor can they bear to see them suffer hardships and hazards, which they ought to be brought up in. They could not endure to see them come home from their exercises all in dust and sweat, to drink cold water when they are hot, nor to see them mount an unruly horse, or to fight with sword and pistol; and yet there is no remedy; for it is certain, that whoever hopes to make a lad turn out a brave man, must by no means spare him in his youth, and must often transgress the rules of physic.

When a young gentleman should begin his travels.

*Vitamque sub dio, & trepides agat
In rebus*.*

He must sharp cold and scorching heat despise,
Defying danger where most danger lies.

Neither is it enough to inspire him with courage, but care must be taken also to give him strength of muscles. The soul will be too much oppressed, if not seconded by the body, and would have too hard a task to discharge two offices alone. I know, to my sorrow, how much mine groans under the burden, being accommodated with a body so tender and delicate, as to bear upon it too hard, and often perceive in my reading, that our

* Horat. lib. iii. Ode ii. ver. 5. 6.

masters, in their writings, make examples pass for those of magnanimity and courage, which they should rather ascribe to the thickness of the skin, and the hardness of the bones; for I have seen men, women, and children so formed by nature, that they could bear a bastinadoing, better than I could a fillip of a finger; and that, when they were soundly drubbed, would neither cry out, nor wince. Thus, when wrestlers imitate the philosophers in patience, it is owing rather to their strong sinews, than to their stout hearts. Now to be inured to undergo labour, is to be accustomed to endure grief. *Labor callum obducit dolori* *; "Labour hardens us to bear grief, by making it callous." A boy is to be broke to the toil by severity of exercises, in order to fit him for bearing the pain and smart of dislocations, colics, caustics, and even of imprisonment and torture; for it may be his misfortune to be exposed even to the worst of these, which, according as times are, may be the lot of the good as well as of the bad. Of this we are a proof. Whoever fights against the laws, threatens all honest men with the lash and halter. And, moreover, by the young man's being kept at home, the authority of his governor over him, which ought to be sovereign, is interrupted and checked by the presence of the parents. Add to this, that the respect paid him by the family, and his consideration of the greatness he is heir to, are, in my opinion, no small inconveniencies at that age.

Modesty very
necessary to
youth.

While we thus learn to converse with mankind, I have often observed this vice, that, instead of taking due hints from others, we only make it our business to lay ourselves open to them, and are at more pains to exhibit our own stock, than to lay in new. Silence and modesty are very advantageous qualities in conversation. The lad therefore should be taught not to be too profuse of the talent which he has acquired, and not to take exceptions at every silly story that is told in his hearing; for it is rudeness to carp at every that is not agreeable to our taste. Let him think it sufficient to conceit him-

* Cic. Tusc. Quest. lib. ii. cap. 15.

self, and not seem to reproach another for not doing that which he refuses to do himself, nor act counter to the common customs. *Licet sapere sine pompa, sine invidia* *. “ Let him be wise without ostentation, or contracting envy. Let him avoid that unpolite mimicking of authority, and that puerile ambition of appearing more refined, to be thought otherwise than he really is, and as if reproofs and interruptions, though so disagreeable, were not to be omitted, with a view of deriving from thence some singular reputation. As it is the sole prerogative of great poets to make use of the *Poetica Licentia*, so it is intolerable that any but sublime and celebrated geniuses should be privileged above the authority of custom. *Si quid Socrates, & Aristippus contra morem, & consuetudinem fecerunt, idem sibi ne arbitratur licere: magis enim illi, & divinis bonis hanc licentiam assequebantur* †. “ If Socrates and Aristippus transgressed “ the rules of custom, let him not imagine that he may “ take the same liberty, for their great and sublime “ virtues rendered that sort of privilege excusable in “ them.” He should be taught never to enter into conversation or controversy, but where he meets with an antagonist worthy of engaging; and, even with such, not to make use of all the sophistry that may be of service to him, but only such turns as may be of most use to him upon the occasion. Let him be charged to be nice in the choice of his arguments, to abominate impertinence, and consequently to affect conciseness. Above all, let him be instructed to acquiesce, and submit to truth, as soon as ever he shall be convinced of it, whether by his opponents arguments, or upon better consideration of his own; for he should never be preferred to the chair for muttering a set form of words, nor engaged in any cause which he does not approve. *Neque ut omnia, quæ præscripta et imperata sint, defendat, necessitate ulla cogitur* ‡. “ Neither is he obliged, by any sort “ of necessity, to defend every thing that is prescribed “ or enjoined to him.”

* Senec. Epist. 103.

† Cic. de Offic. lib. i. cap. 41.

‡ Cic. Acad. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. 3.

They ought to be well affected to the sovereign, without being attached to him by employment at court.

If the governor be of my humour, he will form his pupil to be a very loyal subject to his prince, very affectionate to his person, and very courageous in quarrel; but, withal, he will damp any ambition he may have to attach himself to his service by any other engagement than public duty. For besides many other inconveniencies that are injurious to our liberty, a man's judgment being prepossessed by these particular obligations, is either divided and cramped, or is stained with indiscretion and ingratitude. A man that is a perfect courtier, can neither have the power nor the will to speak and think otherwise than favourably of a master who, out of so many thousands of his subjects, has singled him to maintain and prefer with his own hands. This favour, and the benefit flowing from it, must needs, and not without some reason, spoil his freedom of speaking, and cast a mist before his eyes: and we commonly find the language of such people, quite different from that of others of the same nation, and that it does not deserve much credit, when it treats of affairs relating to the court, and the prince.

A lad must be inspired with sincerity.

Let his conscience and his virtue be conspicuous in his discourse, and have reason only for their guide. Make him understand that his own confession of any mistake, which he may discover in what he says, though none perceive it but himself, is an effect of judgment and sincerity, which are the principal qualifications he aims at: that obstinacy and wrangling are common qualities, which are most to be discovered in sordid souls. That to recollect and correct himself, and to give up a bad cause in the warmth of his dispute, are great and uncommon philosophical qualities.

He must be admonished when in company, to be attentive to every thing said or done.

He must be advised when he is in company, to have his eye in every corner of the room; for I find that the chief seats, are commonly taken by men of the least capacity, and that the greatest fortunes are not always accompanied with abilities. I have been

been present where while those at the upper end of a table, have been admiring the beauty of the tapestry, or commending the flavour of the sack, they have lost many fine things said at the lower end of it. Let him sift every man's talent : from a herdsman, a mason, or a passenger, a man may pick out something of what every one deals in, to treasure in his memory ; and even the folly and weakness of others, will contribute to his instruction. By a close observation of the graces and fashions of all he sees, he will create to himself an emulation of the good, and contempt of bad men.

Let an honest curiosity, be suggested to his fancy of being inquisitive after every thing ; and whatever is rare and singular in his neighbourhood, let him see it ; be it a structure, a fountain, or a remarkable man, the field of a battle fought in ancient days, the expedition of Cæsar, or Charlemain.

He ought to be inspired with a laudable curiosity.

*Quæ tellus sit lenta gelu, quæ putris ab æstu,
Ventus in Italiam quis bene vela ferat *.*

What lands are frozen, what are parch'd, explore,
And what wind blows on the Italian shore.

Let him enquire into the manners, revenues, and alliances of princes. Things that are very pleasant to learn, and as useful to know. In this acquaintance with mankind, I chiefly include those, who live only in historical memoirs. He will, by the help of such histories, get acquainted with the great geniuses of the best ages. It is a vain study, I confess, for those who do not apply closely to it, but to those who do, it is a study of inestimable benefit, and the only one, as Plato reports, which the Lacedæmonians reserved to themselves. What profit will not the pupil gain in this respect, by reading the lives of Plutarch ? But let his governor remember what is the true end of his lessons, and that he do not so much imprint in his pupil's memory, the date of the ruin of Carthage, as the manners of

The great benefit he will reap from the study of history.

* Propert. lib. iv. eleg. 3. v. 39, 40.

Hannibal and Scipio, nor so much what place Marcellus died at, as why it was unworthy of his duty that he should die there. Let him not take so much pains, to teach him the narrative part of histories, as to form his judgment of them, which, in my opinion, is the thing that we apply ourselves to, with the most different measures. I have read an hundred things in Titus Livius, that has escaped the observation of others, and Plutarch has read a hundred more there, besides what I was able to discover, or than perhaps that author ever inserted in his book. To some it is merely a grammar-study, to others, the very anatomy of philosophy; by which the most abstruse parts of human nature are penetrated into. There are, in Plutarch, many long discourses well worthy of attention; for, in my opinion, he is the greatest master in that kind of writing; but there are a thousand particulars, which he has only glanced upon, where he only points with his fingers, which way we may go if we please; and he contents himself sometimes, with only giving a hint, in the most delicate part of his discourses, from whence we are to pluck out, what deserves the public consideration, for example; where he * says, "That the inhabitants of Asia came to be vassals to one man, only because they were not able to pronounce the single syllable, No." Which saying of his, gave matter and occasion to Boetius †, to write his tract Of Voluntary Servitude, where he makes a whole discourse in examining the trivial action of a man's life, or enquiring into a word that

* In his Treatise of False Modesty, ch. vii. of Amyot's Translation.

† This was Montaigne's friend, of whom I shall have occasion to say more elsewhere. His name was Stephen Boetius, and he composed that Book Of Voluntary Servitude, which is here mentioned by Montaigne, and of which we shall find him discoursing more particularly in the 27th chap. of this book, under the article of Friendship. One thing very surprising is, that in all the editions which I have consulted, instead of Boetius we read Boeotia a country of Greece, and that in all those which have short marginal lemmas of what is contained in the pages, we are told upon account of this passage in Plutarch, that this country of Greece voluntarily submitted to slavery; a fatal accident, which care has been taken to point out in the margin, by these words, which are by no means equivocal. "The Voluntary Slavery of the Boeotians." Thus a very material confusion, has arisen from a small error in typography.

does not seem of importance enough to deserve it. It is a pity that men of understanding, should so much affect brevity. No doubt that it is some advantage to their reputation, but we are losers by it. Plutarch had rather we should applaud his judgment, than his knowledge, and chose rather to leave us with an appetite, than a surfeit. He knew that too much might be said even on good subjects, and that Alexandrides justly reproached him, who made very pertinent, but too long speeches to the Ephori, by saying *, “O stranger! thou speakest what thou oughtest to say, as to the matter of it, but not in the due manner.” Such as have but little flesh on their bones, stuff themselves out with clothes; so they who have a scanty subject to treat of, swell it out with words.

The human understanding, is wonderfully enlightened by conversing with the world; for we are of ourselves stupid, and short-sighted. One asking Socrates of what country he was, he did not make answer, “Of Athens,” but, “Of the World†.” He who had the richest, and the most extensive imagination, was fond of calling the whole world his country, and extended his acquaintance, society, and friendship to all mankind, not as we do, who look no farther than the ground we stand on. When the vines of the village where I live are nipped with the frost, our priest immediately infers, that the wrath of God is kindled against the human race, and judges, that the Cannibals have already got the pip. To see our civil wars, who is there that does not cry out, that the machine of the world is turned topsyturvy, and that the day of judgment is just at hand, without considering that many worse things have happened, and that for all this, people are very joyous in ten thousand others parts of this earth? For my part, considering the licentiousness and impunity of the times, I wonder that there is no more mischief done. To him

Conversation with the world contributes, very much to form our judgment.

* Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

† Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 37. and Plutarch, in his Discourse on banishment, cap. 4.

who feels the hail-stones patter about his ears, the whole hemisphere appears to be in a storm and tempest; like the ridiculous Savoyard, who said very gravely, that, if that simple king of France could have managed his fortune well, he might in time have been steward of the household to his duke. The fellow in his shallow imagination, could not conceive any grandeur superior to that of his master. In truth, we are all of us guilty of this error, an error of no small consequence and prejudice. But whoever represents to himself, as in a picture, that great image of our mother Nature, portrayed in her full majesty, whoever reads in her face so general and constant a variety, whoever observes himself in that figure, and not himself only, but a whole kingdom no bigger than the least point made by a pencil, in comparison of the whole, that man alone estimates things according to their true grandeur.

The world ought
to be the young
man's book.

This great world, which some do not scruple to multiply as several species under one genus, is the mirror in which we ought to view ourselves, in order to discover the true bias. In short, I would have this to be the book for my scholar to study; for so many humours, sects, judgments, opinions, laws, and customs, teach us to judge solidly of our own, and inform our understanding how to discover its imperfection and natural infirmity, which is a lesson of no little importance. So many turns and revolutions of state, and the fortune of the public, will teach us to make no great wonder at our own. So many great names, so many victories and conquests buried in oblivion, render our hopes ridiculous of eternizing our fame, by the taking of half a score light horsemen, and a paltry turret, which had never been heard of, if it had not been demolished. The pride and arrogance of so many foreign pomps and ceremonies, the conceited majesty of so many courts, and so much grandeur, inure and strengthen our sight to behold the lustre of our own, without dazzling our eyes. So many millions of men buried before us, encourage us not to fear the going to join such good company in the other world;

world; and so of every thing else. Pythagoras used to say *, That our life makes a retreat to the great and populous assemblies of the Olympic games, wherein some exercise the body in order to acquire the glory of winning the prize, and others carry merchandize to sell for profit. There are some (and those none of the worst) who propose no other advantage, than only to look on, and consider, how and why every thing is done; and to be spectators of the lives of other men, in order thereby to judge and regulate their own.

By examples might properly be taught the most profitable discourses of philosophy, by which all human actions ought to be regulated and directed. He should be instructed

The science of behaving well in life ought to be early inculcated in the minds of children.

——— *Quid fas optare, quid asper
Utile nummus habet, patriæ charisque propinquis
Quantum elargiri deceat, quem te Deus esse
Fussit, et humana qua parte locatus es in re†,
Quid sumus, aut quidnam vitturi gignimur‡.*

What man may wish, what's money's proper use,
What are our country's, and our neighbour's dues;
What God commands an honest man to be,
And here on earth to know in what degree
God has him plac'd, and what we are, and why
He gave us being and humanity.

what knowledge is, and what it is to be ignorant; what ought to be the aim of study; what valour, temperance and justice are; the difference between ambition and avarice, servitude and subordination, licentiousness and liberty; the marks whereby to know what is true and solid contentment; how far death, sorrow, and disgrace may be dreaded.

Et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem §.

How labour to avoid, or how sustain.

By what springs we move, and the reason of our various inclinations. For, methinks, the first lessons with which

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 3.

† Pers. Sat. iii. v. 69.

‡ Montaigne has put this verse last, which in Persius goes before the others, and is the 67th.

§ Virg. Æneid. lib. iii. ver. 459.

the youth's understanding ought to be seasoned, should be such as regulate his manners and his sense, which will instruct him to know himself, and how to live well, and die well. Among the liberal Sciences, let us begin with that which makes us free *, though they all conduce, in some degree, to the instruction and use of life, as all other things also do in some respect or other; but let us chuse that which directly and professedly serves to that end. Were we once able to restrain our appetites within their just and natural limits, we should find that the greater part of the sciences would be useless to us, and that, even in such as are most essential, there are many very unnecessary breadths and depths which we were better to let alone, and, according to the direction of Socrates †, limit the course of our studies to those things which are of real advantage.

— *Sapere aude!*

*Incipe vivendi, qui recte prorogat horam,
Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at ille
Labitur, & labetur in omne volubilis ævum ‡:*

— Dare to be wise; and now

Begin. The man who has it in his pow'r
To practise virtue, and protracts the hour,
Waits, like the clown, to see the brook run low,
Which careless flows, and will for ever flow.

It is a great folly to teach our children

*Quid moveant Pisces, animosæque signa Leonis,
Lotus, et Hesperia quid Capricornus aqua ||.*

What influence Pisces, and fierce Leo have,
Or Capricorn in the Hesperian wave.

the knowledge of the stars, and the motion of the eighth sphere before their own.

* Unum studium vere liberale est quod liberum facit. Senec. Edist. 88.

† Diogenes Laertius in the Life of Socrates, lib. ii. sect. 21. Socrates primus Philosophum devocavit è cœlo & coegit de vita & moribus rebusque bonis & malis quærere. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 4. i. e. "Socrates first called down Philosophy from the heavens, and made life and manners, and good and evil the objects of its enquiry."

‡ Hor. lib. i. epist. 2. ver. 40. to 43. || Propert. lib. iv. eleg. 1. ver. 85, 86.

Τί πλεῖα δέσσινα μοί
Τί δ' ἀγράσι βούττω *.

From me; no star in heaven's whole spangl'd train
Or claims attention, or augments my pain.

Anaximenes said, in a letter to Pythagoras, “ Why should I trouble myself in searching for the secrets of the stars, having death or slavery continually before my eyes ?” For the kings of Persia were at that time preparing for a war against his country. In like manner every one ought to say, “ Being assaulted, as I am by ambition, avarice, temerity, and superstition, and having within me, so many other enemies of life, shall I trouble myself about the revolutions in the world ?”

After he has been instructed in what will make him wiser and better, he may then be entertained with a view of logic, natural philosophy, geometry, rhetoric; and when his judgment is formed what science to chuse, he will soon go through it. The way of instructing him ought to be sometimes by discourse, and at other times by reading. Sometimes his governor should put the author he judges most proper into his hands, and sometimes give him the marrow and substance of his treatise, rightly prepared for his more easy digestion: and if himself be not conversant enough in books, to select the many fine discourses they contain, in order to accomplish his aim, some man of learning may be associated with the governor, who, when occasion requires, may supply him with the stores that shall be necessary for him to distribute and dispense to his pupil. Who can doubt whether this way of teaching is more easy and natural than that of Gazæ, in which the precepts are so harsh and intricate, and the terms so empty and unmeaning, that there is no hold to be taken of them, nothing to rouse the attention, whereas here the mind has somewhat to taste and feed upon. This fruit therefore is without comparison the best, and will be the soonest ripe.

At what time a child ought to be instructed in the sciences.

* Anacreon, ode xvii. ver. 10 & 11.

Philosophy despised, even by men of sense, and why.

It is a thousand pities that things are come to such a pass in this age, that philosophy, even by men of understanding, is looked upon as a vain and fantastical name, a thing of no use and value, either in opinion or effect; and I think that sophistry is the cause of it all, by possessing its avenues. It is very wrong to represent it to youth as a thing inaccessible, and with such a frowning, grim, and terrible aspect. Who is it that has put this pale and hideous mask upon it? There is nothing more gay, airy, and frolicksome, nay, I had almost said, more wanton. It preaches nothing but feasting and jollity. A melancholy, thoughtful countenance is a sign that it does not reside there. Demetrius, the Grammarian, finding a knot of philosophers sitting together in the temple of Delphos, said to them, “* Either I am
“ mistaken, or by your chearful and pleasant countenances you are engaged in no very deep discourse.” To which one of them, Heracleon, the magician, replied, “ It is for such as puzzle themselves in seeking
“ whether the future tense of the verb βάλλω, has a double λ, or that hunt after the derivation of the comparatives χείριον, βέλλιον, and the superlatives χείριστον, βέλτιστον, to knit their brows whilst discoursing of their
“ science; but as to philosophical discourses, they always divert and chear up those who attend to them,
“ and never make them sour nor sad.

*Deprendas animi tormenta latentis in ægro
Corpore, deprendas et gaudia : sumit utrumque
Inde habitum facies †.*

When some important ill disturbs the soul,
How vainly silence would our grief controul?
Not joy, nor sorrow, can be hid by art,
Our foreheads blab the secrets of our heart.

Joy and serenity of mind the marks of wisdom.

The mind of a philosopher is in such a sound state, that it will also contribute to the health of the body. Philosophy makes its ease and tranquillity shine so as

* Plutarch, of oracles that had ceased, ch. v.

† Juv. Sat. ix. ver. 18, 19.

to be discerned from without ; it forms the external behaviour according to its own mould, and consequently arms the person who entertains it with a modest assurance, a brisk active deportment, and a contented, debonnaire countenance. A constant cheerfulness is the surest sign of wisdom, whose state is like that of things in the regions above the moon, always serene. It is Baraco and Baralipton that render their disciples so dirty and smoaky. It is not philosophy, of which they know nothing at all, but by hearsay. It is this that undertakes to calm the tempests of the soul, and to make hunger and thirst smile, and this it does not by certain imaginary epicycles, but by natural and palpable arguments.

It has virtue for its aim, which is not, as the schoolmen say, situate upon the summit of a steep, rugged, and inaccessible hill ; for such as have approached it, have found it, on the contrary, to be seated in a fair, fruitful, and flourishing plain, from whence it has a clear view of all things below, to which place any one however may arrive, if he knows the best way, through shady, verdant, and sweetly flourishing walks, by a pleasant and gentle descent, like that of the celestial arches. For want of having frequented this supreme, beautiful, equally delightful and courageous virtue, this professed and implacable enemy to animosity, vexation, fear, and constraint, whose guide is nature, and whose companions are happiness and pleasure, they have, in the weakness of their imagination, created this silly, melancholy, quarrelsome, spiteful menacing, quaint image of it, and placed it on a solitary rock amongst thorns and briars, as a hobgoblin to scare people from it.

Virtue, its true character and residence.

But the governor that I would have, I mean such a one as knows it to be his duty to possess his pupil with as much, or more affection than reverence for virtue, will be able to inform him, that the poets have ever more accommodated themselves to the taste of the public, and will make him sensible, that the gods have placed sweat and toil in the cabinets of Venus

Virtue ought to be represented to youth as a thousand times more amiable than vice.

rather than in those of Minerva. And when he begins to be sensible of it, by representing to him a Bradamanta, or an Angelica*, for a mistress to dally with, a natural, active, generous, a masculine, a manly beauty, in comparison of a soft, affected, delicate, artificial beauty, the one dignified in the dress of a hero, crowned with a glittering helmet, the other adorned like a mixx with pearls, he will then judge his affection to be masculine, if he shall chuse quite contrary to that effeminate shepherd of Phrygia.

As easy to be acquired, and as the source of true pleasure.

Such a tutor will teach him, that the value and sublimity of true virtue consists in the facility, utility, and pleasure of exercising it, so far from being difficult, that boys as well as men, the most simple as well as the cunning, may attain to it, and not by force, but by rule. Socrates, its chief favourites totally quits forcible methods, to slip into the more natural facility of its own progress. It is the nursing mother of all human pleasures, which, by rendering them just, makes them pure and safe, by moderating them keeps in breath and appetite, and like a kind mother, allows in abundance all those which nature requires, even to satiety, if not to lassitude, unless, perhaps, we chuse to say, that the regimen which prevents the toper from being drunk, the glutton from being surfeited, the whoremaster from being p-x'd, is an enemy to our pleasures.

The true employment of virtue.

If the virtuous man has not the common share of fortune, he does without it, and frames himself another altogether his own, not more fickle and unsteady. Virtue knows how to be rich, and powerful, and learned, and to lie upon perfumed quilts. It loves life, beauty, health, and honour, but its proper and peculiar office is to know how to use those blessings regularly, and how to part with them without concern; an office much more noble than troublesome, the whole course of a man's life being, without it, unnatural, turbulent, and unseemly. If the pupil shall happen to be of so different a disposition,

* Two heroines in Ariosto's Orlando Furioso.

that he had rather hear a fable than a narrative of a fine voyage, or some wise discourse which he understands; if at the beat of a drum, which excites the youthful ardour of his companions, he turns off to another, who calls him to see a puppet show, or the tricks of a merry Andrew; if he does not wish, and think it more pleasant and delightful, to return all over dust victorious from a battle, than from the play of tennis or foot-ball with the prize of those exercises; I see no other remedy, but that he be put apprentice to a pastry cook in some good town, though he were the son of a duke, according to Plato's receipt, "That children are to be placed out, and disposed of, not according to the wealth or rank of the father, but according to their own genius or capacity."

Since philosophy is that which instructs us to live, and that it has a lesson for infancy as well as other ages, why are not children sooner initiated into it.

Philosophy ought to be taught to children.

*Udum & molle lutum est, nunc, nunc properandus, & acri fingendus sine fine rota *.*

The clay is moist, and soft, now, now make haste, And form the vessel, for the wheel turns fast.

We are taught to live when we are going out of the world. A hundred scholars have had the p-x before they came to read Aristotle's lectures on temperance. Cicero said, that were he to live over the same number of years he had seen, he should never find time to read the Lyric poets in the same manner as he had the books that treated of logic †. And yet I find these cavilling sophisters still more unprofitable. The child we are to train up has a great deal less time to spare. As he ought to be under a pedagogue for the first fifteen or sixteen years of his life, the remainder of it should be spent in action. Let us therefore employ so short a space of time in the instructions that are necessary. Away with the crabbed subtleties of logic; they are abuses

* Pers. Sat. iii. ver. 23, 24.

† This is taken entirely from Seneca, Epist. 49.

by which our lives can never be amended; take the plain discourses of philosophy; learn to chuse and rightly to apply them; they are more easy to be understood than one of Boccace's novels: a child just come from its nurse, is much more capable of comprehending such plain philosophy, than of learning to read or write. Philosophy has discourses as proper for the rising generation, as for old age.

Aristotle's method in the instruction of Alexander the Great.

I am of Plutarch's opinion, that Aristotle did not so much trouble his great disciple with the knack of forming syllogisms, or with the elements of geometry, as in furnishing him with good precepts concerning valour, magnanimity, temperance, and the contempt of fear; and, with this ammunition, sent him, whilst he was but a boy, with no more than 30,000 foot, 4000 horse, and 42,000 crowns, to conquer the world. As for the other arts and sciences, Alexander, he said, honoured them much, and commended their excellency, but was not so much delighted with them, as to be tempted with a desire of reducing them to practice.

— *Petite hinc, juvenesque senesque,
Fincm animo certum, miserisque viatica canis* *.

May to this lesson young and old attend,
And form their minds to some sure aim and end, }
Which in old age will solid comfort send.

Just so Epicurus said, in the beginning of his letter to Meniceus †, that neither the youngest should refuse to philosophise, nor the oldest grow weary of it. He that does otherwise, seems tacitly to infer, either that it is not yet time to live happily, or that the season for it is past. I would not, however, have the youth confined to his book as to a prison, nor abandoned to the peevishness and melancholy temper of a passionate schoolmaster. I would not have his spirits broke by being tormented and used as some are, like pack-horses, fourteen or fifteen hours a-day. Neither should I think it proper, when,

* Pers. Sat. v. ver. 64, 65.

† Diog. Laert. lib. x. sect. 122.

by reason of a solitary and melancholy disposition, he appears to be immoderately studious of books, that he should be indulged in that humour, because it renders him unfit for civil conversation, and diverts him from better employments. How many men have I seen, in my time, totally brutified by an intemperate thirst after knowledge ! Carneades was so besotted with it, that he did not give himself time so much as to comb his head, or pare his nails *. Neither would I have the generous temper of the pupil spoiled by the incivility or barbarity of that of another. The French wisdom has been anciently proverbial, for a wisdom that sprouted out early, but soon faded. Indeed, we still see there are none so hopeful as the little children of France, but they commonly disappoint the expectation that has been formed of them, and when they are grown up to be men are eminent for nothing. I have heard men of good understanding say, that the colleges they are sent to, of which there are abundance, make them such blockheads.

As to our young gentleman, a closet, a garden, the table, his bed, and company, morning and evening, all hours should be the same, and all places alike serve for his study; for philosophy, which, as the improver of his judgment and manners, should be his principal lesson, is active every where. The orator Isocrates, being intreated, at a feast, to discourse of his art, all the company thought he gave a right answer, when he said, † It is not now a time to do what I can do, and that which is now the time to do, I cannot do. For to make harangues or rhetorical dissertations in a company met together to laugh and make good cheer, would have rendered it a very disagreeable medley. But as to philosophy, that part of it especially which treats of man, and of his offices and duties, it has been the common opinion of all wise men ‡, that, for the relish of conversation, it ought not to be banished from sports and entertainments. And Plato having invited philosophy to be a guest at his

Philosophy the
formatrix of
manners, is no
where inactive.

* Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Carneades, lib. i. sect. 62.

† Plutarch, in his Table-Talk, lib. i. q. 1.

‡ Idem, ib.

banquet, we find in how gentle a manner, accommodated both to time and place, he entertained the company, tho' in a discourse of the sublimest and the most salutary nature.

*Æquè pauperibus prodest, locupletibus æquè,
Æquè neglectum pueris, senibusque nocebit *.*

Whose precepts rich and poor alike engage,
But, if neglected, hurt both youth and age.

By this method of instruction the pupil will not have so much idle time upon his hands as others. But as walking to and fro in a gallery, though the steps be three times as many, does not tire us so much as when we walk the same number of paces in a journey, so our lesson falling accidentally into our way, without any obligation of time and place, and mixing itself in all our actions, will insinuate itself insensibly.

The exercise of the body, and an external decorum, ought to be a great part of this education.

Even exercises and recreations ought to constitute a great part of study, such as running, wrestling, music, dancing, hunting, riding, and fencing. I would have care taken of his external deportment and mein, and of the setting off his person at the same time with his mind. It is not a soul, nor a body alone that we are training up, but a man, and we ought not to divide him into two parts. As Plato says, the one is not to be trained up without the other, but they must be made to draw together like a pair of horses harnessed to the same carriage. If we attend to him, does he not seem to require more time and care for the exercises of the body, and to think that the mind exercises itself too at the same time?

Children ought not to be compelled to study by severity.

As to the rest, this method of education ought to be mildly conducted, not like our modern pedagogues, who, instead of alluring children to their learning, correct, or at least frighten them with nothing but rods and ferulas, horror and cruelty. Away with this force! this violence! there is nothing, in my opinion,

* Hor. lib. i. epist. 1. ver. 25, 26.

so much discourages and stupifies a lad of a good disposition. If you desire that he should be afraid of shame and chastisement, do not harden him to them. Inure him, as much as you will, to sweat and cold, to wind and sun, and to dangers that he ought to despise. Wean him from all effeminacy and delicacy in cloaths and bedding, in eating and in drinking. Use him to every thing that he may not be a rake and a fop, but a hale, strong lad. I was ever of this opinion from a child, and think so still. But, amongst other things I never liked the management in most of our colleges, whose error, perhaps, might not have been so mischievous, if they had inclined to the indulgent side. They are really so many cages in which youth are shut up as prisoners, who are therein taught to be debauched, by being punished before they become so. Do but go thither just as their exercises are over, you hear nothing but the cries of children under the smart of correction, and the bellowing noise of the masters raging with passion. How can such tender, timorous souls be tempted to love their lesson by those ruby-faced guides, with wrath in their aspects, and the scourge in their hands? A wicked and pernicious form of proceeding! How much more decent would it be to see the forms on which the boys sit, strewed with flowers and green leaves, than with the bloody twigs of willows? I should chuse to have the pictures of Joy and Gladness in the schools, together with Flora and the Graces, as the philosopher Speusippus * had in his; that where their profit is, there might be their pleasure. The viands that are wholesome for children ought to be sweetened with sugar, and those that are hurtful to them made as bitter as gall. It is wonderful to see how careful Plato is in his laws about the gaiety and pastimes of the youth of his city, and how he expatiates upon their races, games, songs, vaulting, and dancing, of which, he says, the ancients gave the conduct and patronage to the gods Apollo and Minerva, and to the muses. He lays down not less than a thousand rules for his exercises; but as to the

* Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Speusippus, lib. iv. sect. 1.

lettered sciences he insists very little upon them, and seems to recommend poetry in particular only for the sake of the music.

Every strange singularity of humour must be corrected.

All oddness and singularity in our manners and conditions ought to be avoided, as an enemy to society. Who would not be astonished to hear that Demophoon, steward to Alexander, sweated in the shade, and shivered in the sun * ? I have seen persons that have run faster from the smell of apples than from gunshot ; others that have been frightened at a mouse ; others that vomitted at the sight of cream, and some that have done the like at the making of a feather-bed, as Germanicus, who could not bear the sight, nor the crowing of a cock. I will not deny but, perhaps, there may have been some occult cause of this aversion ; but, I think, if it was applied to in time, it might be extinguished. Instruction has so prevailed in this respect upon me (though not without some care upon my part), that, beer excepted, my appetite is reconciled to all eatables indifferently.

They ought to be habituated to all customs, so as to comply with them sometimes to excess.

While the bodies of youth are supple, they ought to be bent to all fashions and customs, and provided the appetite and the will can be kept within due bounds, a young man may be safely rendered fit for all nations and companies, even to irregularity and excess, if need be, that is in compliance to custom. Let him be able to do every thing, but love to do nothing that is not good. Even the philosophers do not commend Calisthenes for losing the favour of his master, Alexander the Great, by refusing to drink with him glass for glass. Let the pupil laugh, play, and carouse with his prince ; nay, I would have him in such debauches to be too hard for his companions in ability and vigour, and that he may not forbear doing mischief, either for want of strength, or of knowledge how to do it, but for want of the will. *Multum interest,*

* Sextus Empyricus Pyrrh. Hypot. lib. i. cap. 14. p. 17.

utrum peccare quis nolit, aut nesciat *. “ There is a
 “ wide difference betwixt refusing to do evil, and not
 “ knowing how to do it.” I thought I passed a compli-
 ment upon a nobleman, as free from these excesses as
 any man in France, by asking him before a great deal
 of very good company, how often he got drunk in Ger-
 many for the sake of managing the king’s business there?
 He took the compliment as it was really intended, and
 made answer, three times; of which, withal, he gave
 us the particular history. I know some, who, for want
 of this faculty, have been at a great loss in negotiating
 with that nation. I have often with great admiration,
 reflected upon the wonderful constitution of Alcibiades,
 who so easily could transform himself to such different
 manners, and customs, without prejudice to his health,
 one while outstripping the excessive expence and pomp
 of the Persians, and at other times the austerity and
 frugality of the Lacedæmonians, as reformed in Sparta,
 as voluptuous in Ionia.

Omnis Aristippum decuit color, et status, et res †.

Old Aristippus every dress became,
 In every state and circumstance the same.

I would have my pupil to be such a one,

—— *Quem duplici panno patientia velat,
 Mirabor, vitæ via si conversa decebit.
 Personamque feret non inconcinnus utramque* ‡.

But that a man whom patience taught to wear
 A coat that’s patch’d, should ever learn to bear
 A change of life with decency and ease,
 May justly, I confess, our wonder raise;
 Yet he in ev’ry character can please.

}

These are my lessons; and he who puts them in prac-
 tice will be a greater gainer than he who only knows
 them in theory. If you see him, you hear him; if you
 hear him, you see him. God forbid, says one in Plato,
 that to philosophise should be only to learn many things,
 and to treat of the arts. *Hanc amplissimam omnium artium*

* Seneca, Epist. 90.

† Hor. epist. xvii. lib. 1. ver. 23.

‡ Idem, ib. ver. 25, 26, 29.

bene vivendi disciplinam, vita magis quam literis persequuti sunt *. “ It is rather by their living well, than their learning, that they have devoted themselves to the most extensive of all arts, the discipline of a good life.” Leo, prince of the Phliasians †, asking Heraclides Ponticus, what art or science he made profession of? I know, said he, neither art nor science, but I am a philosopher. One reproaching Diogenes, that, being ignorant, he should pretend to philosophy: I therefore pretend to it, said he, so much more to the purpose ‡. Hegesias desired that he would read a certain book to him. You are a pleasant companion, said he to him, you chuse figs that are true and natural, and not those that are painted; why do not you all chuse exercises that are natural and genuine, rather than those that are prescribed?

He will not so much get his lesson by heart as by practice. We shall discover if there is prudence in his enterprizes, if there be goodness and justice in his deportment, judgment and grace in his speaking, fortitude in his sickness, modesty in his merit, temperance in his pleasures, order in his oeconomy, and indifferency in his palate, as to flesh, fish, wine or water. *Qui disciplinam suam non ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ putet, quique obtemperet ipse sibi, et decretis parcat* ||. “ Who considers his learning not as a vain ostentation of science, but as a rule of life, and who obeys its decrees, and observes its regimen.” The conduct of our lives is the true mirror of our conversation. When one asked Zeupidamus §, why the Lacedæmonians committed their constitutions of chivalry to writing, and did not give them to their youth to read? he made answer, Because they chose to accustom them to action, rather than to amuse them

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. 3.

† It was not Heraclides, but Pythagoras that returned this answer to Leo; and it is from a book of Heraclides, a disciple of Plato, that Cicero quotes this passage, as he says in his Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 3. Plato was not born till above 100 years after Pythagoras.

‡ Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Diogenes the Cynic, lib. v. sect 48.

|| Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. cap. 4.

§ Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

with words. With such as this, compare one of those college Latinists, who has thrown away fifteen or sixteen years in only learning to speak. The world is nothing but babble, and I never yet saw the man who did not rather talk more than he ought, and yet half of our time is consumed this way. We are subjected four or five years to learn the meaning of words, and to tack them together into clauses : as many more to distribute one copious discourse into four or five parts, and the remaining five years, at least, to learn succinctly to mix and interweave them after a subtle manner. Let us leave such a task to those who make it their particular profession.

Going one day to Orleans, I met, in the plain on this side of Clery, with two pedagogues travelling towards Bourdeaux, the one above fifty paces before the other ; and at some distance behind I saw a troop of horse with the commander at their head, who was the late Monsieur the count de la Rouchefoucault ; one of my companions enquired of the foremost of the two pedants who that gentleman was that followed him, who, not having perceived the train in their rear, and thinking that he meant his companion, answered pleasantly, " He is not a gentleman, sir, he is a grammarian, and I am a logician."

The story of two pedagogues who went to Bourdeaux.

Now we who on the contrary do not aim to form a grammarian nor logician, but a gentleman, leave them to mispend their time ; our business lies another way : for let our pupil be well furnished with things, words will flow but too fast ; he will drag them after him, if they are not ready to follow. I have known some make excuses for want of a capacity to express themselves, and pretend to have a great many fine thoughts, but, for want of elocution, are not able to utter them ; but this is a sham. Would you know what I think of it ? I take their thoughts to be nothing but shadows of some irregular conceptions which they are not able to connect and clear up in their own

A youth of a good family ought to be more carefully instructed in the knowledge of things than of words.

own minds, nor by consequence to bring them out. They do not yet themselves understand what they would be at, and if you observe how they hesitate upon the point of parturition, you will soon perceive that their labour is not to a delivery, but merely in conception, and that they are still licking the imperfect embryo. For my part, I am of opinion, and Socrates lays it down as a rule, that whoever has a sprightly and clear imagination, will be able to express it well enough in some dialect or other, and if dumb, by signs.

Verbaque provisam rem non invita sequentur *.

When once a thing conceiv'd is in the mind,
Words to express it a quick passage find.

And as another says as poetically in prose, *Cum res animum occupavere, verba ambiunt* †; “When the mind is once master of a thing, words are eager to utter it;” and this other, *ipsæ res verba rapiunt* ‡; “Things themselves draw out words after them.” He knows nothing of ablative, conjunctive, subjunctive, nor of grammar, no more than his lackey or a fishwoman at the Petit Pont, and yet their tongues will run till you are tired of hearing them, and, perhaps, will trip as little in their language as the best master of arts in France. He knows no rhetoric, nor how to word a preface, so as to soothe a reader, nor is he solicitous to know it. In truth, all this decoration of painting is easily obscured by the lustre of simple and blunt truth. Such fine flourishes serve only to amuse the vulgar, who are not able to digest food that is more substantial and strengthening, as Afer plainly shews in || Tacitus. The ambassadors of Samos came to Cleomenes, king of Sparta, prepared with a long and elegant oration, to incite him to a war against the tyrant Polycrates, who, after he had heard them with patience, gave them this short answer, “§ As to

* Hor. Art. Poet. ver. 311.

† Senec. Contr. l. iii. in the Preface.

‡ Cic. de Finibus, lib. iii. cap. 5.

|| In a Dialogue, intituled, De Causis corruptæ Eloquentiæ, the author of which is not very well known. Several of the learned, as well as Montaigne, ascribe it to Tacitus, others to Quintilian, &c.

§ Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the Lacedæmonians.

“ the preamble, I remember it not, nor consequently
 “ the middle of your speech, and as to your conclusion,
 “ I will do nothing that you desire.” A fine answer
 this, methinks, and the speech-makers were, no doubt,
 quite confounded. And how fared it with the other ?
 The Athenians were to chuse one out of two architects
 to be the director of a great fabric, the one of which,
 an affected fellow, offered his service in a fine premedi-
 tated harangue upon the subject, and by his oratory in-
 clined the suffrage of the people in his favour ; but the
 other only made use of these few words, “ Ye Lords of
 “ Athens, what this man hath *only said*, I will *perform* *.”
 When Cicero was in the highest reputation for his elo-
 quence, he was admired by many ; but † Cato making
 a jest of it, only said, “ We have a pleasant consul.”
 Whether it goes before or after, a good sentence, or a
 fine passage, is always in season ; if it neither coheres
 with what went before, nor follows after, it is however
 good in itself. I am none of those who think that good
 rhyme makes a good poem. Let the bard make a short
 syllable long if he will, it is a matter of no moment ; if
 there be invention in his piece, and if wit and judgment
 have acted their parts well in it, I will style him a good
 poet, though a bad rhymers.

Emunctæ naris, durus componere versus †.

His wit is delicate, tho' harsh his verse.

Let a man, says Horace, strip such a poem as he there
 speaks of, viz. that of Ennius, of all its connections
 and measures,

* Plutarch, in his instructions for those who manage state affairs.

† Montaigne gives too general a latitude to Cato's reflections, tho'
 perhaps he did so for the purpose. Cato did not ridicule Cicero's Elo-
 quence in the general, but only his abuse of it while he was consul.
 When he was pleading one day for Morena against Cato, he fell to ridi-
 culing the gravest principles of the stoic philosophy in too comic a
 manner, and consequently not becoming the august station he then was
 in. This is what drew Cato's answer above mentioned, which was more
 stinging than all the invectives which Cicero had so lately cast at this
 great man, who was much more a stoic by his manners, than by his
 discourses. See Plutarch, in the life of Cato, ch. 6. of Amyot's trans-
 lation. † Hor. Sat. iv. lib. i. ver. 8.

Tempora

*Tempora certa, modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum est;
 Posterius faciat, præponens ultima primis,
 Invenias etiam disjecti membra poetæ* *.

Let sense, and mood, and words be all misplac'd,
 Those last that should be first, those first the last;
 Tho' all things be thus shuffled out of frame,
 You'll find the poet's fragments not to blame.

He will nevertheless acknowledge that the very scraps themselves are excellent. This was the import of Menander's answer, who, when the day was at hand on which he had promised a comedy, being reproved that he made no great progress in it, said, "It was composed † and ready, all except the verses." Having contrived the acts and the scenes in his fancy, he made little account of the rest.

Since Ronfard and Bellay have brought our French poetry into reputation, every little dabbler in it, for ought I see, swells his words as high, and makes his cadences very near as harmonious, as they did. *Plus sonat, quam valet ‡*; "More sound than sense." As to low life, there were never so many poetasters as now; but though they find it no hard task to rhyme as musically as they, yet they fall infinitely short in imitating the noble descriptions of the one, and the curious inventions of the other.

A youth of good parentage ought to despise sophistical subtleties. But what shall our young gentleman do, if he be attacked with the sophistical subtlety of some syllogism. A gammon of bacon makes a man drink, drink quenches thirst; *ergo* the bacon quenches thirst. Why, let him laugh at it, and it will be more discretion to do so, than to answer it, *Subtilius est contempsisse quam solvere* §. Or let him borrow this pleasant counter-policy of Aristippus §, "Why should I unbind him, "who, bound as he is, gives me so much perplexity?"

* Hor. lib. i. sat. iv. ver. 58.

† Plutarch, in his tract, whether the Athenians were more eminent in arms than in letters, cap. 4.

‡ Senec. Epist. 40.

§ Idem, Epist. 49.

§ Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Aristippus, lib. ii. sect. 70.

A person endeavouring to pose Cleanthes with some logical subtleties, Chrysippus took him up short, saying, * Reserve your juggling tricks to play with children, and do not let them draw aside the serious thoughts of a man in years. If these ridiculous subtleties, *contorta, & aculeata Sophismata* †, those perplexed and crabbed sophisms, as Cicero calls them, are designed to make him believe a lie, they are dangerous; but if they answer no other purpose, than only to make him laugh, I do not see why he need to be fortified against them. Some are so silly as to go a mile out of their way to hook in a fine term or phrase. *Aut qui non verba rebus aptant, sed res extrinsecus arcessunt, quibus verba convenient* ‡. “ Either they do not adapt their terms to their subject, or “ ramble from their subject in quest of things to which the “ words may agree.” And, as another says, *Qui alicujus verbi decore placentis vocentur ad id, quod non proposuerant scribere* ||; “ who charmed by some word that pleases “ them, engage in a subject which they had no design “ to treat of.” For my part, I chuse to twist in a fine sentence, to tack it to my subject, rather than to untwist the thread of my subject, by deviating from it in quest of such sentence. On the contrary, words are to serve and follow a man’s purpose, and let the Galcon language take place where the French will not do. I would have the imagination of the hearer intirely engrossed by the subject, although the words are forgot. The style I am fond of is natural and plain, both in speaking and writing; a style that is nervous and concise, not so delicate and florid, as masterly and forcible. *Hæc demum sapiet distilo, quæ feriet* §. “ The expression “ which touches the mind will infallibly please it;” rather intricate than long-winded periods, free from affectation; not stiff nor disjointed; not pedantic, nor monk, nor lawyer-like, but rather soldier-like, as Sue-

* Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Chrysippus, lib. vii. sect. 183.

† Cic. Acad. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. 24. ‡ Quintil. lib. viii. || Senec. Epist. 59.

§ The Latin verse is taken from a sort of epitaph in Lucan, which is to be found intire in the Supplement to Fabricius’s Bibliotheca Latina, p. 167.

tonius calls that of Julius Cæsar, yet why he called it so, I cannot well conceive.

Montaigne's
style free from
all affectation.

I have been ready enough to imitate that loose fashion, which is observable in the dress of our young fellows; to wear my cloak flung upon one shoulder, my cap on one side, one stocking looser than the other, which represents a haughty disdain of the foreign ornaments, and a negligence of art, which I find of much greater use in the forms of speech. All affectation, particularly in the French gaiety and freedom, is unbecoming a courtier, whose dress ought to be the model for every gentleman in a monarchy, for which reason an easy and natural negligence does well. I no more like a piece of stuff wove, in which the knots and seams are to be seen, than a skin so delicate, that a man may count the bones and veins. *Quæ veritati operam dat oratio, incomposita sit, & simplex**—*Quis accuratè loquitur, nisi qui vult putidè loqui*†. “Let the speech that has truth for its aim, be plain and “artless.” What man strives to speak accurately without exposing this affectation? that sort of eloquence which makes us in love with ourselves, does an injury to the subject it treats of. As in our apparel it is unmanly to distinguish ourselves by any singular garb that is not in the fashion; so in language, to hunt for new phrases, and unknown terms, proceeds from a scholastic and puerile ambition. May I be permitted to use no other terms but those that will do as well for the markets at Paris! Aristophanes, the grammarian, understood nothing of the matter, when he reproved Epicurus for the simplicity of his expression, and the design of his oratory, which was only perspicuity of language‡. The imitation of speaking, by its own facility, immediately runs through a whole nation; but the imitation of judging and inventing words is not so quick in its progress. The generality of readers, because they have found a like robe, imagine, very falsely, that they have a like body; whereas strength and sinews are

* Seneca, Ep. 40. † Idem, Epist. 75.

‡ Diogenes

Laertius, in the life of Epicurus, lib. x. sect. 13.

not to be borrowed, though the gloss and outward ornament may. Most of those who resort to me, speak the language of my essays; but whether they have the same sentiments, I know not. The Athenians, says Plato*, are eminent for speaking copiously and elegantly, the Lacedæmonians concisely, while those of Crete aim more at the fertility of the imagination, than the copiousness of language, and these are the best. Zeno said, that he had two sorts of disciples, the one whom he termed φιλολόγους, curious to learn things, and these were his favourites; the others λογοφίλους, who cared for nothing but language. [*Stobæus Serm. 34.*] This does not mean that speaking well is not a fine and a happy talent, but only that it is not so happy as some consider it, and I am scandalized that this should engross our whole time. I would fain understand my own language first; and next, that of my neighbours, with whom I most correspond.

Greek and Latin are no doubt very fine accomplishments, but we purchase them at too dear a rate. I will here discover one method whereby, as I myself have experienced, they may be had much cheaper, and who will may make use of it. My deceased father having made all the enquiry that a man could possibly do among men of learning and understanding of an exact method of education, was by them apprized of this inconvenience which attended the modern practice; and he was told, that the tedious time we spent in learning the languages, which cost the ancient Greeks and Romans very little, if any, was the only reason why we could not attain to their magnanimity or knowledge. I do not, however, believe that to be the only cause; but the expedient my father found out for this was, that while I was at nurse, and before I be-

The Greek and Latin languages may be learnt with less pains than are usually taken.

* De Legibus, lib. i. p. 572.

† The antient Greeks, more fortunate, or wiser than the Romans, only learnt their own language; whereas the Romans commonly joined the study of Greek to that of the Latin tongue, and derived almost all their notions from the Greek books, both their poetry and their philosophy being scarce any thing more than translations from the Greek.

gan to speak, he committed me to the care of a German, who since died a famous physician in France, totally ignorant of our language indeed, but very well versed in the Latin.

Latin taught to
Montaigne be-
fore the French
tongue, and
with what suc-
cess.

This gentleman, whom he had sent for out of his own country on purpose, and to whom he paid an extraordinary salary, had me continually in his arms, and to him were joined two others of inferior learning to attend me by way of relief to him, and all these talked to me in no other language but Latin. As to the rest of his family, it was an inviolable rule, that neither himself, nor my mother, nor the footman, nor the chambermaid, should speak any thing in my company but such Latin words as each had learnt only to gabble with me. It is not to be imagined how great an advantage this proved to the whole family. My father and mother, by this means, learned Latin enough to understand it, and to speak it well enough to serve their occasions, as did also those of the domestics who were most attendant upon me. To be short, we latinised it to such a degree, that it overflowed to all our neighbouring villages, where there still remain, having established themselves by custom, several Latin names of artificers and their tools. As for myself, I was above six years of age before I understood either French, or Perigordin, any more than Arabic; and without art, book, grammar, or precept, without the lash, and without shedding a tear, I had learnt to speak as pure Latin as my schoolmaster, for I could not have confounded nor corrupted it. If, by way of trial, they were disposed to give me a theme after the college fashion, they gave it to the others in French, but to me they gave it in bad Latin that I might turn it into good. And Nicholas Grouchi, who wrote *De Comitibus Romanorum*; William Guirentes, who wrote a Comment upon Aristotle; George Buchanan, the great poet of Scotland; and Marcus Antonius Muretus, (whom both France and Italy have acknowledged to be the best orator of his time) my domestic preceptors,

have

have often told me, that, in my very childhood, I had this language so ready and fluent, that they were afraid to accost me in it. Buchanan, when I saw him afterwards in the retinue of the late Marechal de Brissac, told me, that he was about to write a treatise on the education of children, and that he would take the model of it from mine: for he was then tutor to that count de Brissac, whom we have since seen so valiant and brave a gentleman.

As to Greek, of which I know very little, if any thing at all, my father intended to make me learn it by art, but in a new way, by the means of recreation and exercise, tossing our declensions to and fro, after the manner of those who learn arithmetic and geometry, by certain games on the chess-board. For, amongst other things, he had been advised to make me relish my learning and my duty by an unforced will, and at my own desire, and to train me up with all gentleness and freedom, without any severity or constraint, which, I may say, he observed so very superstitiously, that, as some are of opinion, it disorders the tender brains of children to awake them by surprize in the morning, and suddenly and violently to snatch them from sleep (in which they are more profoundly involved than we are) he caused me to be waked out of it by the sound of some instrument of music, and I was never without a musician for that purpose. This instance will be sufficient to form an idea of the rest, as well as to recommend both the prudence and the affection of so good a father, who is not at all to be blamed, if he has not reaped the fruit answerable to so exquisite a culture, of which these two things were the cause. First, a barren and improper soil. For though I was of a strong and healthful, and of a mild and tractable temper, I was withal so heavy, indolent, and sleepy, that they could not rouse me from this stupidity, not even to play. What I saw, I saw clearly enough, and, in this lazy disposition, nourished bold imaginations, and opinions above one of my age. I had a slow genius, which made no progress faster than it was led, a dull

Montaigne
learnt Greek in
his pastimes.

apprehension, a languid invention, and, after all, an incredible defect of memory ; so that no wonder, if taking all this together, my father could extract nothing of value. Secondly, as they, who, impatient for the cure of a distemper, submit to all manner of advice, so the good man, being extremely fearful of failing in a thing which he had so much at heart, suffered himself at last to be over-ruled by the common opinion, as one fool always makes many, and, in compliance with the fashion of the time, having dismissed those Italians from about him who had given him the first plans of my education, he sent me, when I was about six years of age, to the college of Guienne, which was very flourishing at that time, and the best in France, where he took all possible care to chuse able tutors for me, and provide every thing else proper for my education, in which he made a reservation of many particular forms contrary to the practice of the colleges ; but, with all these precautions, it was still a college. My Latin immediately grew corrupt, of which, by discontinuance, I have since left all manner of use ; so that this new-fashioned education was of no other service to me, than, at my arrival there, to prefer me over the heads of others to the first classes : for at thirty-three years old, when I came from the college, I had run through my whole course (as they call it) and, in truth, without any manner of improvement that I can at this time recollect.

How Montaigne began to take a fancy to reading of authors.

The pleasure I found in the fables in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* first gave me a liking to books : for when I was about seven or eight years old, I stole from every other pleasure to read them, soasmuch as the language of this book was my mother-tongue, and that it was the easiest book I knew, and the most adapted to the capacity of my tender years. As to *Lancelot of the Lake*, *Amadis de Gaul*, *Huon de Bourdeaux*, and such trumpery, the favourite amusements of children, I had not so much as heard the names of them no more than I yet know the contents of them, so strict was the discipline I was brought up in. I was hereby, however, rendered

dered the more indifferent to the study of the other lessons that were prescribed to me : and here it was my singular advantage, to have a gentleman of good understanding for my preceptor, who dexterously connived at this and other such deviations from my task. For by this means I ran through Virgil's *Æneid*, Terence, Plautus, and some Italian comedies, being continually allured by the pleasure of the subject ; whereas, had he been so unwise as to have interrupted me in this course of my reading, I very believe, I should have brought nothing away from the college, but a hatred of books, as almost all our gentry do. But his conduct in this matter was quite discreet, seeming to take no notice of it ; and by permitting me to indulge myself in these books, only by stealth from any other regular studies, it made my appetite for them more eager. The chief things my father desired from the endeavours of those to whom he gave the charge of me, were courtesy and compliance ; and, to say the truth, my temper had no other vice but pusillanimity and sloth. There was no danger of my doing ill, but of my doing nothing. Nobody prognosticated that I should be wicked, but useless ; they foresaw idleness in my nature, but not malice, and I find I have turned out accordingly. The complaints my ears are tingled with are such as these ; he is idle, cold in the offices of a friend, and of a relation, and in the publick offices too particular, and too scornful : the worst, however of his enemies do not say, Why has he not taken such a thing ? Why has he not paid such a debt ? but, Why does he not part with this ? Why does he not give that ? And I should take it as a favour, that men would expect no works of supererogation but such as these : but they are unjust to exact from me what I do not owe, and with more severity than is necessary, they impose upon themselves to pay their own debts. In condemning me for this, they cancel the gratification of the act, and the gratitude which would be due to me for it : whereas the doing a good action ought to be deemed of so much the greater value from my hands, by reason I never was under obli-

gation to any body for a favour. As my fortune is my own, I am the more at liberty to dispose of it, as I am of my person the more it is my own. Nevertheless, if I was good at blazoning my own actions, I could, perhaps, very fairly repel these reproaches, and could give some to understand, that they are not so much offended that I do not do enough, as that I am able to do a great deal more than I do. Yet, for all this, my mind, at the same time, had secret and strong agitations, and formed solid and clear judgments about those objects it comprehended, and it alone digested them without any help: and, amongst other things, I do really believe it would have been altogether incapable of submitting to force and violence. Shall I place to this account one faculty of my youth, viz. a bold countenance, attended with a smooth tongue, and a supple behaviour, applicable to the parts which I was to undertake? For,

Alter ab undecimo tum me vix ceperat annus *.

I was but just entered into my twelfth year, when I played the chief parts in the Latin tragedies of Buchanan, Guerent, and Muretus, which are acted with great applause in our college at Guienne. In this Andreas Goveanus, our principal, as in all other branches of his office, was, incomparably the greatest principal in France, and I was looked upon as a masterly actor. This is an exercise which I do not discommend in young people of condition; and I have seen some of our princes, after the example of the ancients, perform such exercises, in person, with dignity and applause. It was even allowable to persons of quality in Greece to make a profession of it. *Aristoni tragico aëtori rem aperet: huic et genus, et fortuna honesta erant: nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos pudori est ea deformabat* †. “He discovered the affair to Ariston, a young tragedian, a man of a good family and fortune, neither of which qualities were disgraced by his art, nothing of this kind being reckoned a disparagement in Greece.” For I have always taxed those with impertinence who con-

* Virg. Ecl. viii. ver. 39.

† Tit. Liv. lib. xxiv. cap. 24.

demn these recreations, and those persons with injustice, who refuse to admit such comedians, as were worthy of it, into our capital towns, and who grudge the people these public diversions. Well governed corporations take care to assemble the citizens, not only for the solemn duties of devotion, but also for sports and pastimes. Society and friendship are augmented by it; and, besides, they cannot possibly be allowed more regular diversions than what are performed in the presence of all persons, and in the sight of the magistrate himself. For my part too, I should think it but right, that the prince should sometimes, at his own expence, gratify the common people, in token of his paternal affection and goodness; and that, in populous towns, there should be theatres erected and set apart, for such entertainments, were it only to divert them from worse and more secret actions. But, to return to my subject, there is nothing like alluring the appetite and affection of the young learners, otherwise they turn out only as so many asses laden with books, and have their pockets crammed with learning to keep by virtue of the lash; whereas, to act rightly, would be, not only to lodge it with them, but to make them espouse it.

C H A P. XXVI.

The Folly of making our Capacity a Standard for the Measure of Truth and Error.

IT is not, perhaps, without reason, that we ascribe facility of belief, and easiness of persuasion, to simplicity and ignorance; for, I think, I have heretofore heard belief compared to an impression stamped upon our mind, which by how much the softer and the more flexible it is, the more easily it receives any impression. *Ut necesse est lancem in libra ponderibus impositis, de primis sic animum perspicuis cedere* †. “As one of the scales of a balance must be depressed by putting weight into it, so the assent of the mind must of necessity yield to things

† Cic. Acad. Quæst. lib. iv. (qui inscribitur Lucullus) cap. 12.

“ that are evident.” And the more the mind is free, and turns upon an uneven balance, the easier it is weighed down by the first persuasion. This is the reason why children, the common people, women, and sick folks, are most liable to be led by the ears. But then, on the other hand, it is a silly presumption to slight and condemn every thing as false, because it does not seem to us likely to be true, which is the common failing of such as fancy themselves wiser than their neighbours. I was myself formerly of that opinion, and if I heard talk either of spirits walking, of prognostications of futurity, of enchantments, withcraft, or any other tale which I knew not what to make of,

*Somnia, terrores magicos, miracula, sagas,
Nocturnos lemures, portentaque Theßala rides ? **

Can you in earnest laugh at all the schemes
Of magic terrors, visionary dreams,
Portentous prodigies, and imps of hell,
The nightly goblins, and enchanting spell ?

I pitied the poor people that were imposed upon by these fooleries ; and now I find that I myself was to be pitied as much at least as they. Not that experience has taught me any thing to supersede my former opinions, though I have not wanted curiosity, but reason has instructed me, that thus resolutely to condemn a thing as false and impossible, is to presume to set limits to God's will, and the power of nature, our common mother ; and that it is the most egregious folly in the world to measure either the one or the other by the standard of our shallow capacities. If we give the epithets of *monstrous* and *miraculous* to what our reason cannot comprehend, how many things of that nature are continually before our eyes ? Let us but consider through what clouds, and how we are led groping, as it were, in the dark, to the knowledge of the things we are possessed of, and we shall surely find, that it is rather cus-

* Hor. lib. ii. epist. 2. ver. 208, 209.

† It is in Lucretius, *sessus satiate videndi*, *satiare* being the ablative case of the noun substantive *satias*.

tom than knowledge that makes them appear not strange to us ;

— *Jam nemo fessus saturusque videndi,
Susplicere in cæli dignatur lucida Tempia* *.

Already glutted with the sight, now none,
Heav'n's lucid temples deigns to look upon.

and that if those things were now presented as new to us, we should think them equally, or more incredible than any other.

— *Si nunc primum mortalibus adsint
Ex improvise, seu sint objecta repente,
Nil magis his rebus poterat mirabile dici,
Aut minus ante quod auderent fore credere gentes* †.

Were those things suddenly, or by surprize,
Just now objected, new to mortal eyes,
At nothing could they be astonish'd more,
Nor could have form'd a thought of them before.

The man who had never seen a river in his whole life, thought the first he met with to be the ocean ; and the things which are the greatest within our knowledge, we think to be the greatest that nature has formed of the kind.

*Scilicet & fluvius qui non maximus, ei est
Qui non ante aliquem majorem vidit & ingens ;
Arbor homoque videtur, & omnia de genere omni
Maxime quæ vidit quisque, hæc ingentia fingit* ‡.

A little river unto him does seem,
That bigger never saw, a mighty stream ;
A tree, a man ; all things seem to his view
O'th' kind the greatest, that ne'er greater knew.

*Consuetudine oculorum, affuescunt animi, neque admirantur,
neque requirunt rationes earum rerum, quas semper vident* ||.

“ Things grow familiar to men's minds by being often
“ seen ; so that they neither admire, nor are inquisitive
“ into the causes of them.” It is the novelty, rather
than the grandeur of things, that tempts us to enquire

* Lucret. lib. ii. ver. 1037, 1038.

† Ibid. lib. vi. ver. 674. to 677.

‡ Ib. ver. 1032, to 1035.

|| Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.

into their causes. But we are to judge with more reverence for that infinite power of nature, and with a greater acknowledgment of our own ignorance and infirmity. How many unlikely things are there testified by persons of credit, which, if we cannot absolutely believe, we ought at least to live in suspense? For, to conclude them impossible, is rashly presuming to pretend to know the utmost bounds of possibility. Did we rightly understand the difference betwixt things impossible and unusual, and what is contrary to the order and course of nature, and contrary to the common opinion of mankind, in not believing rashly, nor, on the other hand, being too incredulous, we should observe the rule of *Ne quid nimis*, enjoined by Chilo*.

When we read in Froissart, that the count de Foix knew in Bearn the defeat of king John of Castile at Juberother, in 1385, the day after it happened, and the means by which he tells us he came to hear † it so soon, it is enough to make one laugh, as well as at what we are told in our annals, that pope Honorius, on the very day that Philip Augustus died at Mante, performed his funeral obsequies at Rome, and commanded the like throughout Italy; for the testimony of these authors is not, perhaps, considerable enough to be relied on. But why? if Plutarch, besides several instances of the like kind that he produces from antiquity, says, he is assured by certain knowledge, that in the time of Domitian, the news of the battle lost by Antonius, many days journey ‡ from thence, was published at Rome §, and dispersed throughout the world on the same day it was fought; and if Cæsar was of opinion, that it has often happened that the rumour has been antecedent to

* *Μηδὲν ἄγαν*, Aristotle in his Rhetoric, lib. xi. cap. 12. and Pliny (Nat. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 32.) ascribe this maxim to Chilo, as does Diogenes Laertius in the Life of Thales, lib. i. sect. 41. but he afterwards ascribes it to Solon, in his Life of Solon, lib. i. sect. 63. It has been also attributed to others. See Menage's Observations on Diogenes Laertius in the Life of Thales, lib. i. sect. 41.

† Froissart, vol. iii. cap. 17. p. 63, &c. The story is very tedious, and perfectly ridiculous.

‡ Above 840 leagues, says Plutarch, in the Life of Paulus Æmilius.

§ There is no body in my time, adds Plutarch, but knows this.

the event, shall we not say, that those simple men suffered themselves to be deceived with the vulgar, for not being so clear-sighted as we? Is there any thing more delicate, more exact, and more sprightly than Pliny's judgment, when he is pleased to give it exercise? Is there any thing more exempt from vanity? Setting aside his excellent learning, of which I make the least account, in which of these two do we surpass him? And yet there is scarce a pretender to learning but will pronounce him a liar, and pretend to instruct him in the progress of the works of nature.

When we read in Bouchet the miracles performed by St. Hilary's reliques, away with such stuff, his authority is not sufficient to restrain us from the liberty of contradicting him; but to condemn all such stories in the lump, is, I think, a singular piece of impudence. The great St. Austin says, he saw a blind child recover its sight by the relics of St. Gervase, and St. Protasius at Milan*; and a woman at Carthage cured of a cancer, by the sign of the cross made upon her by a woman newly baptized; that Hesperius†, a familiar friend of his, drove away spirits that haunted his house with a little of the earth of our Lord's sepulchre; and that the same earth being afterwards carried to the church, a man afflicted with the palsy was there suddenly cured by it; that a woman, in a procession, having touched the shrine of St. Stephen with a nosegay, and therewith rubbed her eyes, recovered her sight, which she had been a long time deprived of; not to mention several other miracles, at which, he says, he was himself present. Of what shall we accuse him

* Augustin. de Civitate Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 8.

† Montaigne is guilty here of a small mistake. St. Austin does not ascribe this expulsion of the evil spirits to that small quantity of the earth of our Lord's sepulchre which Hesperius had in his house; for, according to St. Austin, one of his priests, having, at the intreaty of Hesperius, repaired to his house, and offered the sacrifice of the body of Christ, and having prayed earnestly to God to put a stop to this disturbance; God did so that very instant. As to the earth taken from the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, Hesperius kept it suspended in his own bedchamber, to secure him from the insults of the devils, who had been very mischievous to his slaves and cattle; for tho' he was protected against the evil spirits by this earth, yet its influence did not extend to the rest of his family.

and the two holy bishops, Aurelius and Maximin, whom he appeals to for his vouchers? Shall it be of ignorance, simplicity, credulity, or of knavery and imposture? Is there a man in this age so impudent as to think himself comparable to them either in virtue and piety, or in knowledge, judgment, and capacity? *Qui ut rationem nullam afferent, ipsa auctoritate me frangerent* *; “Who, though they should offer me no reason, “would convince me by their single authority.” It is a presumption of great danger and consequence, besides the absurd temerity it is attended with, of contemning what we do not comprehend; for after that, according to your fine understanding, you have settled the limits of truth and falsehood, and it should happen that you are under a necessity of believing stranger things than those you deny, you are actually obliged to recede from the limits you have established. Now what I think so much disquiets our consciences in our commotions on the score of religion, is the catholics dispensation of their creed: they fancy they act with moderation and understanding, when they give up to their adversaries any of the articles that are controverted; but, besides that they do not discern of what advantage it is to their adversaries to begin to yield to them, and to retire, and how much this animates the adversaries to follow the blow; those articles which they chose as the most indifferent, are sometimes very important. We are either totally to submit to the authority of our ecclesiastical polity, or be entirely exempted from it. It is not for us to determine what share of obedience we are to pay to it; and moreover, this I can say, as having myself formerly made trial of it, that having used the liberty of chusing particularly for myself, being indifferent as to certain points of the discipline of our church, which to me seemed to have an aspect more vain, or more strange, coming after to discourse the matter with some men of learning, I found that those very things had a substantial and very solid basis; and that it is nothing but brutality and ignorance which makes us receive them with less reverence than

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. i. cap. 21.

the rest. Why do not we recollect what contradiction we find in our own opinions? How many things were articles of faith yesterday, which to-day we treat as no other than fables? Vain-glory and curiosity are the torments of our mind. This last prompts us to dive into affairs with which we have no concern, while the former forbids us to leave any thing undetermined and undecided.

C H A P. XXVII.

Of Friendship.

HAVING observed in what manner a painter who serves me, disposed of his workmanship, I had a fancy to imitate him. He chuses the fairest part and the middle of a wall or partition, wherein he places a picture, which he has finished, with the utmost care and art, and he fills up the void spaces that are about it, with grotesque figures, which are fanciful strokes of the pencil, without any beauty but what they derive from their variety and oddness. And in truth, what are these essays of mine but grotesques, and monstrous pieces of patch-work put together without any certain figure, or any order, connection or proportion, but what is accidental? As the mermaid,

Definat in piscem mulier formosa superne.*

Which a fair woman's face above doth show;
But in a fish's tail doth end below.

In the latter part I go hand in hand with my painter, but fall very short of him in the former, and the better part, for I have not so much skill, as to pretend to give a fine picture executed according to art. I have therefore thought fit to borrow one from † Stephen de Boetius, which will be an honour to all the rest of this work. It is a discourse, which he has intitled *La Servitude Vo-*

* Hor. de Arte Poetica, ver. 4.

† Yet it is not here, and why Montaigne has not inserted it, he tells us at the end of this chapter.

Montaigne, "Voluntary Slavery;" but some who did not know what he intended by that title, have since, very properly given it one another, viz. *Contre un**. It is a piece, which he wrote in his younger years, by way of essay, for the honour of liberty against tyrants. It has passed through the hands of men of the best understanding, with very great recommendations, as it highly deserved, for it is elegantly written, and as full as any thing can be on the subject. Yet it may truly be said, that he was capable of a better performance; and if in that riper age, wherein I had the happiness to be acquainted with him, he had entered upon an undertaking like this of mine, to commit his fancies to writing, we should have seen many uncommon things, and such as would have gone very near to have rivalled the best writings of the ancients: for in this branch of natural endowments especially, I know no man comparable to him. But we have nothing of his left, save only this tract (and that even by chance, for I believe he never saw it after he let it go out of his hands); and some memoirs concerning that † edict of January, made famous by our civil wars, which perhaps may find a place elsewhere. This is all that I have been able to recover of what he has left behind him (though with such an affectionate remembrance on his death-bed, he did, by his will, bequeath his library and papers to me), except the little volume of his works, which I committed to the press §; and to which I am particularly obliged, because it was the introduction of our first acquaintance; for it had been shewn to me, long before I knew his person, and as it gave me the first knowledge of his name, it consequently laid the foundation of that friendship which we mutually cultivated, so long as it pleased

* This, if I am not mistaken, means a discourse against monarchy or government by one person alone, agreeably to what Montaigne says, at the end of this chapter, That if Boetius could have made his option, he would rather have been born at Venice, than at Sarlat.

† It was issued in 1562, in the reign of Charles IX. yet a minor.

‡ See the discourse upon the death of Stephen de la Boetius, composed by Montaigne, and published at the end of this edition.

§ Printed at Paris by Frederick Morel in 1571. I shall speak of it more particularly, in another place.

God to spare his life ; a friendship so entire, and so perfect, that certainly the like is hardly to be found in story, nor is there the least trace of it to be seen in the practice of the moderns. Indeed there must be such a concurrence of circumstances, to the perfecting of such a friendship, that it is very much if fortune brings it to pass once in three years.

There is nothing to which nature seems to have more inclined us than society : and Aristotle says, that the good legislators were more tender of friendship, than of justice. Now this is the utmost point of the perfection of society : For generally all those friendships, that are created and cultivated by pleasure, profit, public or private necessity, are so much the less amiable and generous, and so much the less friendships, as they have another motive and design, and consequence, than pure friendship itself.

Friendship the most happy consequence of society.

Neither are those four ancient kinds, viz. natural, social, hospitable, and veneran, either separately or jointly correspondent with, or do they constitute true friendship. That of children to parents is rather respect ; friendship being nourished by a communication which cannot be formed betwixt them, by reason of the too great disparity of age, and would perhaps violate the obligations of nature ; for neither are all the secret thoughts of the parents communicable to their children, for fear of creating an unsuitable familiarity between them ; nor could admonitions and corrections, one of the principal offices of friendship, be exercised by children to their parents. There are some countries, where it is the custom for children to kill their fathers ; and others, where the fathers kill their children, to avoid their being an impediment to their designs ; and naturally the hopes of the one are founded in the destruction of the other. There have been philosophers who have despised this tie of nature *, witness

Friendship does not tally properly with the four sorts of connection, distinguished by the ancients.

* Diog. Laert. in the Life of Aristippus, lib. ii. sect. 81.

Aristippus, who when he was seriously told of the affection he owed to his children, as they were descended from his loins, fell a-spitting, and said, that also came from him, and that we likewise bred lice and worms: witness another whom Plutarch endeavoured to reconcile with his brother; I make never the more account of him, said he, for coming out of the same hole *. This word Brother, is indeed a fine sounding, and a most affectionate name: and for this reason, Boetius and I styled ourselves brothers †: but the jumble of interest, the division of estates, and the necessity that the wealth of the one must be the impoverishment of the other, wonderfully dissolve and relax this fraternal cement. When brothers seek their way to preferment by the same path or channel, it is hardly possible but they must often jostle and hinder one another. Moreover, why is it necessary that the correspondence and relation, which creates such true and perfect friendship, should be found in kindred? The father and the son may happen to be of a quite contrary disposition, and so may brothers. This is my son: this is my father, but he is passionate, a knave, or a fool. And then, the more those friendships are required of us, by law and the obligations of nature, so much the less is there in them of our own choice, and voluntary freedom: and indeed our free will has no production, more properly its own, than that of affection and friendship. Not that I have not myself experienced all that is possible in this respect, having had the best of fathers, who was also the most indulgent even to extreme old age, and descended of a family, for many generations famous and exemplary for this brotherly concord.

————— *Et ipse*
Notus in fratres animi paterni ‡,

* In Plutarch's Treatise of brotherly Love, ch. 4.

† That is to say, that according to the usage established in Montaigne's time, they gave one another the style of brothers, as it was to be the token and pledge of the friendship which they had contracted: And upon the same principles, Mademoiselle de Gourvay, styled herself Montaigne's daughter, and not because Montaigne married her mother, as I have heard it affirmed in good company.

‡ Hor. lib. ii. Ode 2.

And

And I myself was known to prove
A father in fraternal love.

As for the love we bear to women, though it arises from our own choice, we are not to bring it into comparison, or rank it with the others. Its fire, I confess,

*(Neque enim est Dea nescia nostri
Quæ dulcem curis, miscet amaritiam * ;*

(Nor is my goddess ign'rant what I am,
Who pleasing anguish mixes with my flame :)

is more active, more eager and sharper ; but withal it is more precipitant and fickle, wavering and variable : a fever subject to paroxysms, and intermission, that is confined to only one corner of our fabrick ; whereas in friendship, it is one general and universal heat, but temperate and equal ; a heat that is constant and settled, all easy and smooth, without any particle that is rough and poignant. Moreover, in love there is nothing more than a frantic desire of what flies from us.

*Com segue la lepre il cacciatore
Al freddo, al caldo, alla montagna, al litto :
Ne piu l'estima poi, che presa vede,
Et sol dietro à chi fugge affretta il piede †.*

Like hunters that the flying hare pursue
O'er hills and dale, thro' heat and morning dew,
Which being caught, the quarry they despise ;
Being only pleas'd in following that which flies.

As soon as ever love has contracted articles of amity, that is to say, as soon as there is a concurrence of desires, it languishes and vanishes, for fruition destroys it, as having only a carnal appetite, and such a one as is subject to satiety. Friendship, on the contrary, is enjoyed in proportion as it is desired, and it only grows up, thrives and increases by enjoyment, as being of itself spiritual, and the soul is refined by the very practice of it. With this perfect friendship, I cannot deny but those wavering affections have formerly found some place in my breast, not to say a word of my friend Boetius, who con-

* Catullus, Ep. 66.

† Ariosto, Cant. x. Stanz. 7.

felles but too much of it in his verses. Consequently both these passions have taken possession of me, but so that I knew the one from the other, and never set them on a par, the first soaring aloft with majesty, and looking down with disdain on the latter, stretching its pinnions far below it.

The nature of the marriage contrast.

As to marriage, besides its being a covenant, the entrance into which is altogether free, but the continuance in it forced and compulsoy, and having another dependence than on that of our own free will; and it being also a contract commonly made for other ends, there are a thousand intricacies in it to unravel, enough to break the thread, and interrupt the current of a lively affection; whereas in friendship, there is no commerce or transaction, but within itself.

Women supposed to be incapable of perfect friendship.

Moreover, to say the truth, the ordinary talent of women, is not such as is sufficient to keep up that correspondence and communication, which are necessary for cultivating this sacred tie; nor do they seem to be endued with that constancy of mind, to bear the constraint of so hard and durable a knot. Could there really be such a free and voluntary familiarity contracted, where not only the soul might have this entire fruition, but the body also share in the alliance, and the whole man be engaged in it, it is certain that the friendship would be more intire and complete; but there is no instance that this sex ever yet attained to such perfection, and by the ancient schools, it is denied it ever can.

Friendship against nature, very much in use among the Greeks. Montaigne's opinion of it.

The other Grecian licence is justly abhorred by our moralists, which, however, for having according to their practice so necessary a disparity of age, and difference of offices betwixt the lovers, bears no more proportion than the other, to the perfect union and harmony that is here required. *Quis est enim iste amor amicitie? Cur neque deformem adolescentem quisquam amat, neque formosum senem* *? “For

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. 33.

“ what means this love of friendship? How comes it
“ to pass that no body loves a deformed youth, nor a
“ handsome old man?” Neither do I conceive that
the picture which the academy gives of it, will be a
contradiction to my assertion, that the first fury inspired
by the son of Venus into the heart of the lover, upon
the sight of blooming youth, to which they allow all the
insolent and passionate efforts that an immoderate ar-
dour can produce, was singly founded on external beau-
ty, the false image of corporeal generation; for it could
not be found on the mind which was yet undiscoverable,
being but now springing forth, and not of maturity to
blossom: which fury if it seized upon a mean spirit, the
objects of its pursuit were riches, presents, preferments,
and such sorry goods, as they by no means approve: but
if this fury fell upon a more generous soul, the means
used were also generous, such as philosophical instruc-
tions, precepts to revere religion, to obey the laws, to die
for the good of one’s country, to give instances of va-
lour, prudence, and justice; the lover studying to ren-
der himself agreeable by the grace and beauty of his
mind, that of his body being long ago decayed, and
hoping by this mental society to establish a more firm
and lasting contract. When this courtship had its effect
in its due season, (for what they do not require in the
lover, namely, that he should take time and use discre-
tion in his courtship, they strictly require in the person
loved; forasmuch as he is under a necessity to judge of
internal beauty, difficult to know and discover) then
there sprung up in the person beloved, a desire of spi-
ritual conception, by the intervention of a spiritual
beauty. This was the principal: the corporeal, acci-
dental, and second causes, are all the reverse or wrong
side of the lover. For this reason they prefer the person
loved, prove that the gods do the same, and highly
blame the poet Æschylus, for having, in the amours of
Achilles and Patroclus, given the lover’s part to Achilles,
who was in the first flower and pubescency of youth,
and the handsomest of all the Greeks. This general
familiarity being once settled, supposing its most worthy

proof to be predominant and to perform its proper offices, they say, that from thence great benefit accrued, both to private persons and the public; that it was the strength of those countries, which admitted the practice of it; and the chief defence of justice and liberty. Witness the salutiferous amours of Harmodius and Aristogiton. They therefore call it sacred and divine, and think that it has no enemy, but the violence of tyrants, and the cowardice of the common people. In short, all that can be allowed in favour of the academy, is to say, that it was an amour, which terminated in friendship; and this also agrees well enough with the stoical definition of love. *Amorem conatum esse amicitiae faciendae ex pulchritudinis specie* *. “That love is an endeavour
“ of contracting friendship by the splendor of beauty.”

The completest
friendship characterised.

I return to my definition of a species of friendship that is juster and more uniform, than what has been mentioned. *Omnino amicitiae, corroboratis jam confirmatis ingenis, & ætatibus, judicandae sunt* †. “There is no judging of
“ friendship till the persons are arrived to the maturity of
“ years and understanding.” As for the rest, what we commonly call friends, and friendship, are but acquaintances contracted, either occasionally or for some advantage, by means of which there happens an agreement of our minds: but in the friendship I am treating of, our souls mingle and interweave themselves one with another so universally, that there is no more sign of the cement, by which they were first joined together. If I am pressed to give a reason why I loved him, I find it cannot be expressed otherwise, than by saying, “Because it was he; because it was I.” There was, I know not what unaccountable power of destiny that brought about this union, beyond all that I can say in general or particular. We sought for, before we saw each other by the characters we heard one of another, which wrought more upon our affections, than, in reason, mere reports should do. I think, by some secret appointment of heaven, we loved to hear each other named. At our first meeting, which

* Cic. Tusc. Quest. lib. iv. cap. 34.

† Cic. de Amicitiae, cap. 20.

was accidental at a city feast, we were all at once so taken with each other, so well acquainted, and so mutually obliging, that from thence-forward nothing was so dear to us as the one to the other. He wrote an excellent Latin satire, which is published, wherein he excuses and * accounts for the suddenness of our acquaintance, and its being so soon brought to maturity. He said, that it being like to have so short a continuance, as it was contracted so late in life, (for we were both full grown men, and he the oldest by a year or two) there was no time to lose; nor was it to be regulated by the pattern of those effeminate and formal friendships, that require so many precautions of a long preliminary conversation.

This is no other idea, than that of itself, and can have no relation but to itself. It is not one particular consideration, nor two, nor three, nor four, nor a thousand. It is I know not what quintessence of all this mixture, which, having engrossed my whole will, carried it to be plunged and absorbed in his; and which having engrossed all his will, brought it back with the like appetite and concurrence, to be plunged and absorbed in mine. I may truly say absorbed, having reserved nothing to ourselves that was our own, or that was either his or mine. When Lælius, in presence of the Roman consuls, (who, after they had condemned Tiberius Gracchus, prosecuted all those who had held a correspondence with him) came to ask Caius Blossius, who was his chief friend, "What he would have done for him?" And that he made answer, "Every thing." "How! every thing!" continued he: "And what if he had commanded thee to set fire to our temples?" "He would never have laid that command on me," replied Blossius: "But what if he had?" said Lælius: "Why, if he had," said the other, "I would have obeyed him." If he was so perfect a friend to Gracchus as history reports him to have been, he was under no necessity of offending the consuls

The quintessence of true friendship.

* See Plutarch in the life of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus, chap. 5. Valer. Max. lib. iv. cap. 7. in Exemplis Romanis, sect. 1.

by such a bold confession as the last, and might still have retained the assurance he had of Gracchus's good will. Nevertheless they who accuse this as a seditious answer, do not well understand this mystery, nor suppose what is a fact ; that he was now master of Gracchus's will, both by the power of a friend, and the knowledge he had of the man. They were more friends than citizens, and more friends to one another than either friends or enemies to their country, or than friends to ambition and disturbance. Having absolutely resigned themselves to one another, each perfectly held the reins of the other's inclination, which also they governed by virtue, and guided by reason, (without which it were altogether impossible to draw in the harness) Blossius's answer was such as it ought to have been. If either acted hand over head, they were not friends according to my notion, either one to the other, or to their own dear selves. As for the rest, this answer carries no worse sound than mine would do, if any one should ask me, if my will commanded me to kill my daughter, would I kill her ; and I should make answer that I would ; for this carries no evidence of consent to do it. Because I do not in the least suspect my own will, and as little that of such a friend. It is not in the power of all the arguments in the world, to dispossess me of the certainty I have of the intentions and opinions of my friends ; nay, no one action of his, what face soever it might bear, could be represented to me, of which I could not immediately discover the motive. Our souls have kept so even a pace together, and we have with such a fervent affection laid open the very bottom of our hearts to one another's view, that I not only know his as well as I do my own, but should certainly much rather trust my interest with him, than with myself.

The idea of
common friend-
ship.

Let no one therefore rank other common friendships with such a one as this.

Of those I have had as much experience as any one, and of the most perfect too of their kind ; but I am not for confounding the rules of the one with the other, which whoever were guilty of, would find himself

himself deceived. In those other ordinary friendships, a man must act with great prudence, precaution, and circumspection, the knot of such friendships being not so strong, that a man can be sure it will not slip: "Love him," said Chilon*, as if you were one day to hate him; "and hate him as if you were one day to love him." This precept, though so abominable in the sovereign friendship I am treating of, is of service in the practice of the ordinary common friendships, to which may most justly be applied an exclamation often used by Aristotle†, viz. *Ω φίλος, εἰς εἰς φίλος*, "O my friends! there is no friend!"

In this sublime state of friendship, so hearty is the concurrence of our wills, that the offices and benefits, which are the support of the inferior class of friendships, do not deserve so much as to be mentioned here; for in the very same manner as the friendship I bear to myself receives no increase, whatever I relieve myself withal in a case of necessity (say the Stoics what they will) and as I do not find myself obliged to myself, for the service I do to myself: so the union of such friends being truly perfect, makes them insensible of such obligations, and causes them to loath and banish from their conversation the words Benefit, Obligation, Acknowledgment, Intreaty, Thanks, and the like terms of distinction and difference. Every thing being in effect common between them; as thoughts, judgments, estates, wives, children, honour, and life, and their agreement being as entire as if it was but one soul in two bodies, they cannot be said, according to Aristotle's very proper definition‡, either to lend or give any thing to one another.

Amongst friends
all things are
common.

* In Aulus Gellius, lib. i. cap. 3. Diogenes Laertius, in the life of Bias, attributes this saying to that wise man, lib. i. sect. 7. as Aristotle had done before, in his Rhetoric, lib. ii. cap. 13. where we read the second article, viz. "That a man should be hated, as if some day hereafter he should be loved;" which is not in Diogenes Laertius. As to the first article, "That a man should only be loved as if he were some day to be hated." Cicero says, that he cannot imagine such an expression came from Bias, one of the seven wise men. De Amicitia, cap. 16.

† Diogenes Laertius, in the Life of Aristotle, lib. v. sect. 21.

‡ Diog. Laer. in the Life of Aristotle, lib. v. sect. 29.

This is the very reason why the legislators, to honour marriage with some imaginary resemblance of this divine union, prohibit all gifts between the husband and wife, by which they would have it inferred, that all they both had, ought to be the property of each ; and that they have nothing of which to make a separate dividend.

In perfect
friendship the
giver is obliged
to the receiver.

If in the friendship of which I treat, the one could give to the other, he who received the favour, would thereby lay his companion under the obligation ; for each of them seeking above all things to be useful to one another, he that furnishes the matter and the occasion, is the liberal man, in giving his friend the satisfaction of doing that for him which he most desires. When the philosopher Diogenes wanted money, he said, “ that he “ re-demanded it of his friends, and not demanded it *.” And to let you see a full proof of this practice, I will here relate an instance of it in ancient history, which is very singular. Eudamidas, a Corinthian, who was a poor man, had two friends who were wealthy, viz. Charixenus a Syconian, and Aretheus a Corinthian, to whom, on his death-bed, he left these legacies by his last will and testament, viz. † “ I leave it to Arethus to “ keep my mother, and to maintain her in her old age ; “ to Charixenus to provide a husband for my daughter, “ and to give her as good a portion as he can, and in case “ one of these friends happens to die, I substitute the “ survivor in his place.” They who first saw this will, made themselves very merry with it, but his executors being made acquainted with it, accepted of the trust with a particular pleasure : and one of them, viz. Charixenus, dying within five days after, Aretheus, on whom the charge of both thereby devolved, took special care of the mother, and, of five talents, which he had in bank, he gave two and a half in marriage with an only daughter he had of his own, and the other two and a half in marriage with the daughter of Eudamidas, whose nuptials were both solemnized on the same day.

* Diog. Laert. in the life of Diogenes the Cynic, lib. vi. sect. 46.

† This instance is taken from a Dialogue of Lucian intitled Toxaris.

This instance is very full, to the point, were it not for one objection, viz. the number of friends. For the perfect friendship whereof I am speaking is indivisible. Each of the two gives himself up so entirely to his friend, that he has nothing left to dispose of elsewhere; on the contrary, he is sorry that he is not double, treble, or quadruple, and that he has not a plurality of souls and of wills, to confer them all upon this subject.

Perfect friendship is indivisible.

As for the ordinary friendships, they are divisible. One may love the beauty of this, the courtesy of that person, the liberality of a third, the paternal affection of one, the brotherly love of another, and so of the rest; but as for this friendship which engrosses the whole soul, and governs it with absolute sway, it is impossible it should be twofold. If two at the same time should call on you for help, to which of them would you run? If they desired contrary offices of you, how would you order it? Should the one charge you with the keeping of a secret, which it was proper they both should know, how would you come off?

The ordinary friendships may be shared by many persons.

The friendship which is of the singular and sovereign kind, dissolves all other obligations. The secret which I have sworn not to reveal to another, I may without perjury communicate to him who is not another, but myself. It is miraculous enough, for a man to double himself, but they who talk of trebling themselves know not what they say. Nothing is extreme that has its like; and whoever supposes, that of two persons, I love one as much as the other, and that they mutually love another, and love me as much as I love them, he multiplies into a fraternity, the greatest and most single of units, of which one alone is also the rarest thing in the world to find. The remaining part of this story agrees very well with what I was saying; for Eudamidas, as a grace and favour to his friends, employs them in his necessity, and leaves them heirs to this liberality of his, which consists in giv-

A singular and prime friendship, dissolves all other obligations.

ing

ing them an opportunity of doing him a good office. And, without doubt, the power of friendship is more eminently apparent in this action of his, than in that of Aretheus. In fine, these are effects not to be imagined by such as have not had experience of them, and therefore I highly honour the answer of the young soldier to Cyrus, who when he asked him what he would take for a horse, with which he had just won the prize at a race, and whether he would exchange him for a kingdom? "No, truly Sir, said he, but I would freely part with him, to gain a friend, could I find a man worthy of such a relation." He was right enough in saying, "could I find," for though it is an easy matter to find persons qualified for a superficial acquaintance, yet, in such a league of friendship as this*, wherein the negotiation is carried on from the very bottom of the heart, without any reserve, it is requisite that all the springs and movements of it should be clear and perfectly sure.

What is necessary in confederacies.

In confederacies which hold but by one end, or have but one point to serve, there needs nothing more than to make provision for the imperfections, which particularly concern that end. It can be of no moment what religion my physician is of, or my lawyer, this being a consideration quite foreign to the offices of friendship, which they owe me.

And in domestic acquaintance.

I am altogether as indifferent in regard to my domestic acquaintance with my servants: I am not so inquisitive to know whether my footman be chaste, as whether he be diligent; and am not so much in fear that my chairman is a gamester, as that he is weak; or my cook a swearer, as that he is ignorant. I do not take upon me to dictate what others should do; there are enough that are guilty of this. I only give an account of what I do in my own house.

Mibi sic usus est: Tibi ut opus est facto, face †.

* Cyropædia, lib. viii. cap. 3. sect. 11. 12.

† Terence Heaut. Act. 1. Scene 1. ver. 28.

This has my practice been ; but thou may'st do,
What interest or pleasure prompts thee to.

In table-talk, I prefer the merry man before the wise one ; in bed, beauty before goodness ; and in common conversation, the most able speaker, even though he does not always mean what he says ; and so of other things. If he that was found riding on a * hobby-horse, at play with his children, desired the man who surprised him at it, to say nothing of the matter till he came to be a father himself, imagining, that the passion of fondness, which would then arise in his soul, would render him a more proper judge of such an action ; so I would wish to be read by such as have had experience of what I say ; but knowing how different such friendship is from the way of the world, and how hard it is to be found, I do not expect to meet with any person qualified to be a judge of the thing. For even those discourses left us on this subject by the ancients, are flat and languid, according to my notion of the matter. And in this point the effects surpass the precepts of philosophy.

Nil ego contulerim jucundo sanus amico †.

I know no pleasure that can health attend,
Equal to that of a facetious friend.

Menander ‡ pronounced that man happy who had the good fortune to meet with the Shadow of a Friend : and indeed he had good reason for saying so, if he spoke by experience. For, in truth, if I compare all the rest of my life, though, God be thanked, I have always lived easy and pleasant, and (excepting the loss of such a friend) exempt from any grievous affliction, and in great tranquility of mind, having been contented with my natural and original conveniencies, without being solicitous for others, if I compare it all, I say, to those four years that I had the enjoyment of the sweet conver-

* It was Agefilaus who was found thus playing with his children. Plutarch in the life of Agefilaus, cap. 9.

† Hor. lib. i. Sat. 5. ver. 44.

‡ Plutarch, in his Tract of Brotherly Love, cap. 3.

fation of this excellent man, it is all but smoke, and one dark tedious night. From the day that I lost him

—— *Quem semper acerbum,
Semper honoratum (sic Dii voluistis) habebo* *.

Which since 'tis heav'n's decree, tho' too severe,
I shall lament, but ever shall revere.

I have only languished in life, and the very pleasures that present themselves to me, instead of comforting me, double my affliction for the loss of him. We were half sharers in every thing; and, methinks, by outliving him, I defraud him of his share.

† *Nec jus esse ulla me voluptate hic frui
Decrevi, tantisper dum ille abest, meus particeps* †.

No pleasing thought shall e'er my soul employ,
While he is absent who was all my joy.

I was actually so constituted, and so accustomed to be his second part at all times and places, that, methinks, I have but one half of myself left.

*Ab! te meæ si partem animæ rapit
Maturior vis, quid moror altera,
Nec charus æque, nec superstes
Integer? Ille dies utramque
Ducet ruinam* §.

Should you, alas! be snatch'd away,
Wherefore, ah! wherefore should I stay:
My comfort lost, myself not whole,
And but possessing half my soul!
One fatal day shall seize on both.

There is no action or imagination of mine wherein I do not miss him, as much as if he had been really created for me; for as he infinitely surpassed me in virtue, and every other accomplishment, he also did the same in the duties of friendship.

* Virg. *Æneid*, lib. v. ver. 49, 50.

† Montaigne has here made some little variation in Terence's words, for the sake of applying them to his subject.

‡ Terence *Heaut. Act. i. Scene i.* ver. 97, 98.

§ Hor. lib. ii. *Ode xvii.* ver. 5, &c.

*Quis desiderio sit pudor, aut modus
Tam chari capitis * ?*

Why should we stop the flowing tear ?
Why blush to weep for one so dear ?

O misero, frater adempte, mihi !

*Omnia tecum una perierunt gaudia nostra,
Quæ tuus in vita, dulcis alebat amor,
Tu mea, tu moriens fregisti commoda, frater,
Tecum una tota est nostra sepulta anima.*

*Cujus ego interitu tota de mente fugavi
Hæc studia, atque omnes delicias animi.*

Alloquor ? audiero nunquam tua verba loquentem ?

*Nunquam ego te vita, frater amabilior,
Aspiciam posthac ? at certe semper amabo †.*

Ah ! brother, what a life did I commence,
From that sad day when thou wast snatch'd from hence !
Those joys are vanish'd which my heart once knew,
When in sweet converse all our moments flew :
With thee departing, my good fortune fled,
And all my soul is lifeless since thou'rt dead.
The Muses at thy fun'ral I forsook,
And of all joy my leave for ever took. *
Dearer than life ! am I so wretched then,
Never to hear, or speak to thee again ?
Nor see those lips, now frozen up by death ?
Yet I will love thee to my latest breath !

But let us hear a little what this lad of sixteen years of age says ; “ Having discovered that those memoirs upon
“ the famous edict of January, (mentioned towards the
“ beginning of this chapter) are already printed, and with
“ a bad design by some, who make it their business to
“ molest, and to subvert the state of our government,
“ not caring whether they amend it or no, and that they
“ have published it in a miscellany of other pieces of
“ their own writing, I desisted from my design of insert-
“ ing it here. And to the end that the memory of the

* Hor. lib. i. Ode xxiv. ver. 1, 2.

† Catullus, Eclogue lxvi. ver. 20,—26. Eclog. lxiii. ver. 9, 10, 11.

“ author

“ author may not suffer with such as were not intimate
 “ enough with him to have a thorough knowledge of his
 “ opinions and his performances, I hereby give him to
 “ understand, that this subject was treated by him in
 “ his youth, and that only by way of exercising his
 “ genius, it being a common subject that has been
 “ canvassed by writers in a thousand places. I make no
 “ doubt but he himself believed what he writ, being so
 “ very conscientious that he would not be guilty of tell-
 “ ing a lie, even in jest; and I know, moreover, that if
 “ it had been put to his choice, that he had rather have
 “ been born at Venice, than at Scarlac, and he had rea-
 “ son. But he had another maxim deeply imprinted in
 “ his mind, very religiously to obey and submit to the
 “ laws under which he was born. There never was a
 “ better subject, nor a greater wellwisher to the tran-
 “ quility of his country, nor one that more opposed the
 “ commotions and innovations of the time he lived in,
 “ so that he would much rather have employed his ta-
 “ lents to suppress them, than to have inflamed them
 “ more; for he had a mind formed after the model of
 “ other times than these. Now, in exchange for this
 “ serious piece, I will present you with another that is
 “ more gay and airy, written by the same hand, at the
 “ same age.”

C H A P. XXVIII.

*A Letter to Madam de GRAMMONT, Countess of
 GUISSEN, with twenty-nine Sonnets.*

MADAM, I offer your ladyship nothing of mine,
 either because it is already yours, or because I find
 nothing of my writing worthy of you: but I was desirous
 that these verses, into what part of the world soever they
 travel, may carry your name in the front, for the ho-
 nour that will accrue to them, by having the great Co-
 risanda de Andonis for their guide. I conceive this pre-
 sent, Madam, the more proper for you, forasmuch as
 there are but few ladies in France who have a better
 taste

taste of poetry, and make a better use of it than you, and none who can give it that life and spirit which your ladyship does, by that sweet and graceful melody in your voice, of which, among a million of other charms, nature has made you a present. These verses, madam, are worthy of your patronage, and I dare say, you will be of my opinion, that Gascony never yielded any that had more imagination, and elegance, or that carry the marks of a more copious fancy. And do not be jealous that you have but the remainder of what I published under the patronage of M. de Foix, your worthy kinsman; for, really, these have something in them of more life and fire, forasmuch as he wrote them in his greener years, and when he was inflamed with a certain noble ardour, which, one day or other, I will whisper in your ear. The others were written afterwards, when he was making courtship to his wife, and favouring already of a certain matrimonial coldness. For my part, I am of the same opinion with those who think that poetry appears no where so gay, as it does on a wanton and irregular subject. These twenty-nine sonnets of Stephen de Boetius, which were inserted in this letter formerly*, have since been printed with his works.

C H A P. XXIX.

Of Moderation.

THINGS which are in themselves fair and good, are liable to be spoilt by our handling, as if there was something infectious in our very touch. Virtue itself will become vice, if we clasp it with a desire too eager and violent. As for saying that there is never any excess of virtue, because it is no longer virtue, if there be excess in it, it is mere playing upon words.

Whether virtue can be sought after with too much vehemency.

* They are inserted in Abel Angelier's quarto edition, printed at Paris in 1588. I do not swell this edition with them, because I do not find any thing in them that is very affecting; for they scarce contain any thing in them but amorous complaints expressed in a very rough style,

*Insani sapiens nomen ferat, æquus iniqui,
Ultra quàm satis est, virtutem si petat ipsam *.*

Mad grows the wise, the just unjust is found,
When e'en to virtue they prescribe no bound.

This is a subtle consideration in philosophy. A man may both be too much in love with virtue, and carry himself to excess in a just action. Holy writ agrees with this way of thinking. St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, ch. xii. ver. 3. "No man should think of himself more highly than he ought, but think soberly." I knew a great man who blemished his reputation for religion, by making a shew of greater devotion than all men of his condition †. I love natures that are temperate, and between the extremes.

An immoderate zeal for that which is good. An immoderate zeal, even for that which is good, though it does not offend me, astonishes me; and I really am at a loss what name to give it. Neither the mother of Pausanias ‡, who first pointed out the way, and laid the first stone for the destruction of her son; nor the dictator

discovering the follies and outrages of a restless passion, overgorged, as it were, with jealousies, fears, and suspicions.

* Hor. lib. i. epist. 6.

† It is like, that Montaigne meant Henry III. King of France. The Cardinal d' Ossat, writing to Louisa, his Queen Dowager, told her, in his frank manner, that he had lived as much, or more like a monk than a monarch. Letter xxiii. And Sextus Quintus, speaking of that prince one day to the Cardinal de Joyeuse, protector of the affairs of France, said to him pleasantly, "There is nothing that your king hath not done, and does not do still, to be a monk, nor any thing that I have not done, not to be a monk." See the note by Amelot de la Houffaye upon the words of the Cardinal d' Ossat, just now mentioned, p. 74, tom. i. of the Cardinal d' Ossat's Letters, published at Paris in 1698.

‡ Montaigne would here give us to understand, upon the authority of Diodorus of Sicily, that Pausanias's mother gave the first hint of the punishment that was to be inflicted on her son. "Pausanias, says this historian, perceiving that the Ephori, and some other Lacedæmonians, aimed at apprehending him, got the start of them, and went and took sanctuary in Minerva's temple: and the Lacedæmonians, being doubtful whether they ought to take him from thence in violation of the franchise there, it is said, that his own mother came herself to the temple, but spoke nothing, nor did any thing, more than lay a piece of brick, which she brought with her, on the threshold of the temple, which, when she had done, she returned home. The Lacedæmonians, taking the hint from the mother, caused the gate of the temple to be walled up, and by this means starved Pausanias, so that he died with hunger, &c." lib. xi. cap. 10. of Amyot's translation. The name of

Post-

Posthumius, who put his son to death, whom the heat of youthful blood had pushed with success upon the enemy a little before the other soldiers of his rank *; neither of these instances, I say, seem to me so just, as they are strange; and I should not like either to advise, or imitate a virtue, so savage, and so expensive. The archer that shoots beyond the mark, misses it as much as he that comes short of it. And it offends my sight as much to lift up my eyes, on a sudden, towards a great light, as to cast them down to a dark cavern. Callicles, in Plato, says, that the extremity of philosophy is hurtful, and advises not to dive deeper into it than what may turn to good account; that, taken with moderation, it is pleasant and profitable, but in the extreme it renders a man brutish and vicious, a contemner of religion, and the common laws, an enemy to civil conversation, and all human pleasures, incapable of all political administration, and of assisting others, or even himself, and a fit object to be buffeted with impunity. And he says true; for in its excess it enslaves our natural liberty, and, by an impertinent curiosity, leads us out of the fair and smooth path, which has been planned out for us by nature.

Though the love we bear to our wives is very lawful, yet divinity curbs and restrains it. I think I have formerly met with a passage in St. Thomas Aquinas, where he con-

Love to wives
restrained by
divinity.

Pausanias's mother was Alcitheia, as we are informed by Thucydides's scholiast, who only says, that it was reported, that when they sat about walling up the gates of the chapel in which Pausanias had taken refuge, his mother Alcitheia laid the first stone.

* Opinions differ as to the truth of this fact. Titus Livius thinks he has good authority for rejecting it, because it does not appear in history that Posthumius was branded with it, as Titus Manlius was, about 100 years after his time; for Manlius having put his son to death for the like cause, obtained the odious name of Imperiosus, and since that time Manliana Imperia, has been used as a term to signify orders that are too severe; Manliana Imperia, says Titus Livius, were not only horrible for the time present, but of a bad example to posterity. And this historian makes no doubt but such commands would have been actually styled Posthumiana Imperia, if Posthumius had been the first who set so barbarous an example, Titus Livius, lib. iv. cap. 29. and lib. viii. cap. 7. But, however, Montaigne has Valer. Maximus on his side, who says, expressly that Posthumius caused his son to be put to death, lib. ii. cap. 766. and Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xii. cap. 19.

demns marriages within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity, for this, among other reasons, viz. the danger there is lest the love a husband bears to such a wife should be immoderate, for if the conjugal affection be as entire and perfect as it ought, and it be increased, moreover, by that which is due to consanguinity, there is no doubt but such an addition would carry the husband beyond the bounds of reason.

Divinity and philosophy dictate in every thing.

The sciences which regulate the manners of mankind, viz. theology and philosophy, dictate in every thing. There is no action be it ever so private and secret, that can escape their cognizance and jurisdiction. This liberty assumed by philosophy and theology*, is what none but the ignorant and the vulgar take it in their heads to find fault with: and in this, they are like the wives who expose their parts freely enough to their gallants, but are shy of discovering them to the physician or the surgeon. I will† therefore on the part of philosophy and divinity, give this lesson to the husbands, if such there be who are too libidinous in the conjugal state, viz. That the very pleasures they enjoy in their converse with their wives, are blameable if immoderate, and that a licentious and intemperate abuse of it is as great an error with a legitimate subject, as with one that is illegitimate. As for the immodest caresses which the first ardour suggests to us in this affair, there is not only an indecency in employing them with our wives, but a detriment. Let them at least learn impudence from another hand. They are always alert enough for our occasions. The instruction I have made use of is perfectly natural and plain.

Marriage, what it is.

Marriage is a solemn and sacred tie; therefore the pleasure we extract from it, should

* If this be the sense of Montaigne's words, as I think it to be, Mr. Cotton, in his English translation, has very much mistaken it, where he says, "But they are best taught, who are best able to censure and curb their own liberty." This is a construction which does not tally at all with what goes before, and much less with what follows.

† Here the English translator is likewise mistaken, where he says, "I will on the behalf of the wives teach the husband, &c." Few wives would think themselves obliged to thank Montaigne, for such a lesson to their husbands.

be temperate and serious, with a mixture of gravity. It ought to be a pleasure in some sort discreet and conscientious.

The chief end of it being generation, it is a matter of doubt with some people, whether, when there are no hopes of issue, as when women are past the age of child-bearing, or when they are actually pregnant, it is lawful to court their embraces. It is homicide, according to Plato, (*De Legibus*, lib. viii. p. 912. C. Francofurti, apud Claudium Maraium, &c. anno 1602.) Certain nations, and particularly the Mahometans, abominate conjunction with women that are already with child; and many also with those that are in the menstrual terms.

Congress with pregnant women prohibited.

Zenobia would never admit her husband for more than one encounter, after which she left him to take his range abroad, during the whole time of her conception, and only allowed him to come to her bed again after she was delivered. A noble * and generous example this, in the married state†! It must certainly be from some poor but very lascivious poet, that Plato ‡ borrowed the following story, viz. That Jupiter was one day so hot upon his wife, that not having patience to stay till she was in bed, he threw her down upon the floor, where, so vehement was his pleasure, that he forgot the great and important resolutions which he had just entered into with the other gods, in his celestial court, and boasted that he had as much pleasure in that bout, as when he first got her maiden-head unknown to their parents.

Conjugal continency.

The Persian monarchs invited their wives to their feasts, but when the wine began to operate in good earnest, and that they could not help giving a loose

Wives of the kings of Persia how received at their festivals.

* Montaigne has taken this passage from Trebellius Pollio's Zenobia, p. 199. Hist. August.

† Plutarch, in his Matrimonial Precepts, sect. 14.

‡ Montaigne here ridicules Homer without thinking of it, for this fiction is undoubtedly taken from the *Iliad*, lib. xiv. ver. 194, 353. See Plato's Republic, lib. iii. p. 433, printed at Lyons, by William Leemar, in 1590. If Montaigne had looked into Homer, he would not have been so mistaken as he has been in some circumstances of this affair.

to pleasure, they sent them back to their private apartments, that they might not participate in their immoderate lust, and sent for other women in their stead, to whom they were not obliged to pay so much respect. All pleasures and gratifications, do not suit all persons. Epaminondas having caused a debauched youth to be imprisoned, Pelopidas begged that, for his sake, he would grant him his liberty *. He refused the favour to Pelopidas, but granted it at the first word, to a wench of his who made the same intercession, saying, "that it " was a gratification due to a mistress, but not to a cap-
" tain." Sophocles passing along by accident, cried out, " Oh ! what a delicate boy is that !" whereupon Pericles said to him, this would do well for any body but a prætor, who ought not only to have clean hands, but chaste eyes †.

Conjugal love
ought to be ac-
companied with
respect.

Ælius Verus, the emperor, when his empress reproached him with his love to other women, told her that a principle of conscience was his motive for it, forasmuch as marriage was a state of honour ‡ and dignity, and not of toying and lascivious concupiscence. And our church history hold the memory of that wife in great veneration, who parted with her husband, rather than comply with and bear his indecent and inordinate dalliances. In short, there is no pleasure how justifiable soever, wherein we are not blameable for taking it with excess and intemperance.

Man a miserable
creature.

But to speak the truth, is not man a wretched animal. It is scarce, in his power, by his state of nature to taste a single pleasure pure and entire ; and yet he is labouring for arguments, to curtail that imperfect pleasure he has : he is not yet wretched enough, unless by art and study he increases his own misery.

Fortunæ miseras auximus arte vias §.

* Plutarch in his instructions to those who manage state affairs, chap. 9. Amyott's translation.

† Cic. de Offic. lib. i. cap. 40.

‡ Æli. Spartiani Ælius Verus, p. 15, 16. Hist. Augusti in folio, printed at Paris, anno 1620.

§ Propert. lib. iii. Eleg. ii. ver. 32.

We with misfortune 'gainst ourselves take part,
And our sad destiny increase by art.

Human wisdom makes a very foolish use of its talents; by exercising them in abating the number and relish of those pleasures which we have a right to, as on the other hand it acts favourably and industriously in employing its skill, to put a gloss and disguise upon the misfortunes of life, to alleviate the sense of them. Had I been the chief manager, I should have taken another more natural course, which, to say the truth, is convenient and sacred, and perhaps, I should have been able to set limits to it; although our physicians, both spiritual and temporal, as if they had combined together, can find no other method of cure, or remedy for the diseases of the body and soul, than by torment, sorrow, and pain. To this end watchings, fastings, penances, far distant and solitary banishments, perpetual imprisonments, scourgings, and other afflictions, have been introduced into the world: yea, and on such a condition, that they should be real afflictions and carry a sting in their tails, and that the consequence thereof should not be as happened to one Gallio *, who having been banished to the isle of Lesbos, news was brought to Rome, that he lived as merry there as the day was long, and that his banishment did not prove his punishment but his pleasure: for this reason † they thought fit to recall him to his wife and family, and confined him to his own house, to make him more sensible of their punishments. For to the person whom fasting would make more healthful and sprightly, and to whose palate fish would be more agreeable than flesh, the prescription of either, medicinally, would be of no salutary effect, no more than drugs in the other sort of physic, which have no effect with him who takes them with an appetite and pleasure. The bitterness of the potion, and the aversion of the patient to it, are circumstances that conduce to the operation.

* A Roman senator banished for having offended Tiberius, as may be seen in Tacit. Annals, lib. vi. cap. 2.

† According to Tacitus, he was recalled to Rome, to be kept there in the custody of the magistrates, *ibid.*

Rhubarb itself would be of no virtue to the constitution which is used to it. It must be something which offends the stomach, that must cure it : and here the common rule, that things are cured by their contraries, fails ; for in this, one evil is cured by another.

The sacrifice of human flesh a practice formerly in almost all religions.

This notion has some resemblance with that which was anciently embraced by all religions and sects, that massacre and homicide were acceptable to the gods and to nature. Even in the time of our fore-

fathers, Amurath sacrificed 600 young Greeks to the manes of his father, with a view that their blood might serve as a propitiatory atonement for the sins of his deceased parent.

How practised in the new world.

And in those new countries discovered in this age of ours, which are pure as yet, and virgins, in comparison of ours, this practice is in some degree universally received. All their idels reek with human blood, not without sundry examples of horrid cruelty. Some they put alive into a fire, and take them half roasted out of it, to tear out their hearts and bowels : others, even women, they flea alive, and put their bloody skins on the bodies of others.

Wonderful constancy of those who are sacrificed there.

There are also striking instances among them of constancy and resolution. For these poor victims, old men, women, and children, go out some days before, to beg alms for the offering of their sacrifice, and present themselves to the slaughter, singing and dancing.

The prodigious number sacrificed by the king of Mexico.

The king of Mexico's ambassador representing the great power of their master to Fernando Cortez, after having told him that he had 30 vassals, each of whom could assemble 100,000 fighting men, and that he kept his court in the fairest and best fortified city under the sun, added that he had 50,000 men to spare, every year, for a sacrifice to the gods. They actually affirm, that he maintained a war with some great neighbouring nations, not only for the exercise of the youths of the country, but chiefly to have prisoners of war enough for his sacrifices.

At a certain town moreover they sacrificed 50 men at one time for the welcome of Cortez, to which I will add this story.

Compliment
paid by the Americans to
Fernando
Cortez.

Some of these nations being defeated by him, sent to compliment him, and to court his friendship; and the messenger carried him three sorts of presents, which they delivered him in this manner: Behold, lord, here are five slaves; if thou art a fierce God whose diet is flesh and blood, eat these, and we will bring thee more. If thou art a gracious God, here are plumes of feathers, and incense: but if thou art a man, take these fowls and fruits that we have brought thee.

C H A P. XXX.

Of Cannibals.

WHEN king Pyrrhus, upon his entrance into Italy, saw the order of the Roman army, that was sent to meet him*, “I know not, said he, what kind of Barbarians (for so the Greeks call other nations) these may be; but the disposition of the army, which I now see, has nothing of the Barbarian in it.” The same was said by the Greeks concerning the army which Flaminius sent into their country; and by Philip, when he discovered, from an eminence, the order and distribution of the Roman camp, in his kingdom, under Publius Sulpitius Galba. By this it appears, how cautious men ought to be, of taking things upon trust, from vulgar opinion, and that we are to judge by the eye of reason, and not from common report.

I had a man with me a long time, who had lived ten or twelve years in the world lately discovered, and that part of it surnamed Antarctic France. This discovery of so vast a country seems to be of very great importance; and we are not sure, that there may not be

Reflections on
the discovery of
the new world.

* Plutarch, in the life of Pyrrhus,

another discovered hereafter, so many greater men than we having been deceived in this. I am afraid that our eyes are bigger than our bellies, and that our curiosity is greater than our capacity. We grasp at every thing, and catch nothing but air,

The island of
Atlantis.

Plato introduces Solon * telling a story which he had heard from the priests of Sais, in Egypt, that in old times, even before the flood, there was a great island called Atlantis, directly at the mouth of the strait of Gibraltar, which was bigger than Africa and Asia both together, and that the kings of this same country, who not only possessed this island, but had stretched themselves so far into the continent, that it extended the breadth of Africa as far as Egypt, and the length of Europe as far as Tuscany, attempted to inroad even upon Asia, and to subdue all the nations bordering on the Mediterranean Sea, to the gulph of the Black Sea, and for this purpose traversed Spain, Gaul, and Italy, even to Greece, where they were checked by the Athenians : but that some time after, both the Athenians, and they, with their island, were swallowed by the deluge.

Deluges the
cause of great
alterations in the
habitable world.

It is very probable that extraordinary inundations have made great changes in the earth, as it is said, that Sicily was rent by the sea from the main land of Italy ;

(Hæc loca vi quondam, & vastâ convulsa ruina,

*Disiuisse ferunt : cum protinus utraque tellus.
Una foret †.)*

{ 'Tis said that by an earthquake or a flood,
Too great and boisterous to be withstood,
Those places were from one another rent,
Which were before one solid continent.)

Cyprus from Syria ; the isle of Negropont from the main land of Bœotia ; and in other parts, joined lands together, that before were separate, filling up the channels that were betwixt them with mud and sand ;

* In the Dialogue, intitled Timæus, p. 524, 525.

† Virg. Æn. lib. iii. ver. 414, 416, 417.

—*Sterileſce diu palus, aptaque remis,
Vicinas urbes alit, & grave ſentit aratrum* *.

Marſhes long barren, where they boats did row,
Feed neighb'ring cities and admit the plough.

But it is not very probable that the new world lately diſcovered, was that iſland; for it almoſt touched upon Spain: and that an inundation, ſhould have forced ſuch a prodigious tract ſo far off, as above 1200 leagues from it, is incredible; beſides that, our modern navigators have already, in a manner, diſcovered it to be no iſland, but Terra Firma, and joining to the Eaſt Indies on one ſide, and, with the lands under the two poles on the other; or if it be ſeparated from them, that it is by too narrow a ſtreight and interval, to deſerve the name of an iſland. It ſeems that in thoſe great bodies, as it is in ours, there are two motions, ſome natural, others febrific. When I conſider the impreſſion that has been made in my time, by our river Dordogne, towards the right-hand ſide as it runs down, and that, in theſe twenty years paſt, it has gained ſo much, and ſapped the foundation of many buildings, I plainly perceive it to be owing to ſome extraordinary agitation; for if it had always taken this courſe, or was to do ſo hereafter, the preſent figure of the world would be totally changed. But rivers are apt to alter their courſe: ſometimes they overflow on one ſide, ſometimes on the other, and at other times quietly keep their channels. I do not ſpeak of ſudden inundations, the cauſe of which we clearly know. In Medoc, by the ſea-ſide, my brother, the Sieur d' Arfac, ſees an eſtate he had there, buried under the ſands thrown up by the ſea, where the tops of ſome houſes are yet to be ſeen; his revenues and domains are converted into poor paſtures. The inhabitants ſay, that for ſome years paſt, the ſea has drove ſo vehemently upon their coaſt, that they have loſt four leagues of land. Theſe ſands are harbingers of its approach. And we now ſee great ſhoals of moving ſands, that roll on half a league before it, and make a lodgment on the country.

* Hor. de Art. Poet. ver. 65, 66.

An island discovered by the Carthaginians.

The other testimony of antiquity, which some produce for this discovery, is in Aristotle, at least if that little history of miracles be his. He there says, that certain Carthaginians, having crossed the Atlantic Sea beyond the freight of Gibraltar, after a long navigation, discovered a great fruitful island, covered all over with wood, and watered with broad deep rivers; far remote from any main land, and that they, and others after them, allured by the goodness and fertility of the soil, went thither with their wives and children, and began to plant a colony. But the senate of Carthage, perceiving their country by degrees grow thin of people, issued out an express prohibition, that no more should transport themselves thither, upon pain of death, and also expelled the new inhabitants, for fear, as it is said, lest, in process of time, they should multiply to such a degree, as to supplant themselves, and ruin their state. But this relation of Aristotle's no more agrees with our new-found country than the other.

The qualities requisite in an historian.

This domestic of mine is a plain honest fellow, and therefore the more likely to tell truth. Your men of fine parts indeed are much more curious in their observations, and discover more particulars, but then they make comments upon them, and to give the better air to their glosses, and to gain them credit, they cannot help making a little alteration in the story. They never represent things to you simply as they are, but turn and wind them according to the light they appeared in to themselves; and in order to gain a reputation to their judgment, and to draw you in to trust it, they are apt to lengthen and amplify the subject with something of their own invention. Either a man must be of undoubted veracity, or so simple that he has not wherewithal to contrive to give an air of truth to fiction, and who is wedded to no opinion. Such a one was my man, and besides, he has divers times shewed me several sailors and merchants, who went the same voyage with him. Therefore I content myself with his information, without inquiring what the cosmographers say of it.

We would have topographers to give us a particular account of the places where they were. But because they have had this advantage over us, of seeing the Holy Land, they would have the privilege forsooth, of telling us stories of all the other parts of the world. I would have every one write what he knows, and as much as he knows of it, not only on this, but on all other subjects. For a man may have some particular knowledge or experience of the nature of such a river, or such a spring, who, as to other things, knows no more than any other person; and nevertheless for the sake of propagating, this smattering knowledge of his, he will undertake to write a whole history of natural philosophy. A vice which is the source of several great inconveniencies.

Advice to authors to write no more on a subject, than what they know of it.

To return to my subject: I do not find by what I am told, that there is any thing wild and barbarous in this nation, excepting, that every one gives the denomination of Barbarism to what is not the custom of his country. As indeed we have no other level for aiming at truth and reason, but the example and idea of the opinions and customs of the country wherein we live. There is always the true religion, there is perfect government, and there the use of all things is complete and perfect. There the people are wild, just as we call fruits wild, which nature produces of itself, and in its ordinary progress, whereas in truth we ought rather to call those wild whose natures we have changed by our artifice, and diverted from the common order: In the former, their genuine, and most useful and natural virtues and properties, are vigorous and sprightly, but the latter are degenerated, by our accommodating them to the pleasure of our corrupted taste. And yet our palates, ever find a flavour and delicacy, excellent even to emulation of the best of ours, in several fruits of those countries that grow without cultivation.

Barbarism what it is taken for.

It is not reasonable that art should gain the pre-eminence of our great and

Nature superior to art.

power.

powerful mother, Nature. We have so furcharged the beauty and richness of her works by our own inventions, that we have almost smothered her. Yet wherever she shines in her own pure lustre, she wonderfully disgraces our vain and frivolous attempts.

*Et veniunt bederæ sponte sua melius,
Surgit & in solis formosior arbutus antris,*

Et volucres nulla dulcius arte canunt.*

Best thrives the ivy when no culture spoils,
The strawb'ry most delights in shaded soils;
Birds in wild notes their throats harmonious stretch
With greater art, than art itself can teach.

With all our skill, we are not able to frame such a nest as that of the least of the small birds, neither for its contexture, beauty, or convenience; nor can we weave such a web as the poor spider does. All things, says Plato †, are produced either by nature, chance, or art. The largest and the most beautiful by one or other of the two first, the least and most imperfect by the last.

In what sense
the American
savages are bar-
barians.

These nations then seem to me to be so far barbarous, as very little care has been taken to form their minds, and as their native simplicity is still unimproved.

They are still governed by the laws of nature, as yet very little adulterated by ours, but remaining in such purity, that I am sometimes sorry we were not acquainted with the people sooner, when there were men better able to judge of them than we are. I am vexed that Lycurgus and Plato had no knowledge of them: for, in my opinion, what we see in those nations by experience, not only surpasses all the pictures which the poets have drawn of the Golden Age, and all their inventions in representing the then happy state of mankind, but also the conception and desire of philosophy itself. Such a native and pure simplicity as we see in them, could

* Propert. lib. i. Eleg. ii. ver. 10, 11, 15. † Plato de Legibus, 665.

never enter into their imagination, nor could they ever believe that society could be maintained with so little human artifice and cement.

Should I say to Plato, it is a nation wherein there is no sort of traffick, no knowledge of letters, no science of numbers, no title of magistracy, nor of political superiority; no use of service, riches, or poverty; no contracts, no successions, no dividends, no occupations, no respect of kindred, but all common; no cloaths, no agriculture, no metal, no use of wine or corn. and that they never heard the mention of such words as signify Lying, Treason, Diffimulation, Avarice, Envy, Detraction, and Pardon, how far would he find his imaginary republic, short of this perfection?

The excellency
of their policy.

Hos natura modos primum dedit *.

These different ways were first by nature taught.

For the rest, they live in a very pleasant country, and temperate climate, so that, as my authors tell me, it is rare to see a man sick there, and they assured me they never saw any of the natives, either paralytic, blear-eyed, toothless, or decrepid with age. The situation of their country is all along by the sea-shore, being shut up on the land-side, by great high mountains, from which it is an hundred leagues or thereabouts to the sea. Here are fish and flesh in abundance, that have no resemblance with what comes to our tables, and they use no cookery, but plain boiling, broiling, roasting, or baking on the coals. The first man that ever came to them on horse-back, though he had made an acquaintance with them by several voyages, so frightened them by his appearance of half man and half horse. that they killed him with their arrows before they could find their mistake.

The nature of
their climate.

Their buildings which are very long and capable of entertaining 200 or 300 people, are made of the bark of tall trees, fixed with one end to the ground, and leaning to, and supporting one another.

Their buildings.

* Virg. Georg. lib. ii. ver. 20.

other at the top, like some of our barns, the roof of which descends almost to the ground, and serves instead of the side walls. They have wood so hard, that they cleave it and make swords of it and grills to broil their meat on.

Their beds. Their beds, which are of cotton, are hung up to the roof, like our seamen's hammocks, and hold but one person, for the wives lie apart from their husbands.

Their meals, their drink, and their bread. They rise with the sun, and immediately fall to eating, when they make one meal, which serves them for the whole day. They do not then drink (as Suidas reports of some people of the East, who never drank at their meals), but they drink several times in a day, and to a hearty pitch. Their liquor is made of a certain root; and is of the colour of claret; and they always drink it lukewarm. It will not keep above two or three days, has a brisk flavour, is not at all heady, is very good for the stomach, but proves laxative to those who are not used to it, though to those who are, is a very pleasant beverage. Instead of bread, they make use of a certain white compound, like coriander comfits; which I have tasted, and found to be sweet, but a little flat.

Their pastimes. They spend the whole day in dancing. The young men go out to hunt the wild beasts with bows and arrows. Part of their women, in the mean time, are employed in warming their drink, which is their chief employment. One of their old men in the morning before they fall to eating, preaches to the whole household, in common, walking from one end of the house to the other, several times repeating the same sentences, till he has gone all round the family, (for their buildings are at least an hundred yards long;) to whom he only recommends two things, valour against their enemies, and love to their wives. And they never fail to put them in mind how much they are the more obliged to it, because it is the women who provide them their drink warm, and well relished. In several places, and at my house amongst others, may be

be seen the form of their beds, swords, and wooden gauntlets, with which they guard their wrists in battle, and their canes hollow at one end, by the sound of which they keep time in their dancing. They shave all their hairy parts, and much more nicely than we, without any razor but what is of wood or stone.

They believe the eternity of the soul's duration, and that those who have deserved well of the gods, are lodged in that part of the firmament where the sun rises; and the damned in the west.

They believe the immortality of the soul.

They have I know not what kind of priests and prophets, who live in the mountains, and are seldom seen by the people. Whenever they come down to them there is a great festival, and a solemn assembly of the people from many villages, (or barns, as I have described them, which are about a French league from one another.) The prophet then speaks to them in public, exhorting them to virtue and the performance of their duty: but their whole system of morality consists in these two articles, resolution in war, and affection to their wives. He also foretells to them things to come, and what they must expect will be the event of their enterprizes, and he either persuades them to, or dissuades them from war; but woe be to him if he does not guess right, for if it happens to them otherwise than he foretold, they condemn him for a false prophet; and if they can catch him, cut him in a thousand pieces. For this reason, if any one finds himself mistaken, he keeps out of sight. Divination is a gift of God, therefore to abuse it is an imposture that ought to be punished.

Their priests and prophets, their morality, and how they are treated, if their prophecies prove false.

Among the Scythians, when their diviners failed in their predictions, they were bound hand and foot, and laid on a cart loaden with furze, and drawn by oxen, on which they were burnt to death*: they who only meddle

False prophets burnt by the Scythians.

with things within the sphere of human capacity, are excusable in doing the best they can; but as for those other people that come and delude us, with assurances of an extraordinary faculty, beyond our understanding, ought they not to be punished for not making good their promise, and for the temerity of their imposture?

The wars of the savages, their weapons and manner of fighting.

They have wars with the nations that are beyond their mountains, farther within the main-land, to which they go stark naked, without any weapons, but bows or wooden swords, pointed at the end like the heads of our javelins. Their obstinacy in battle is wonderful, as they never end without great effusion of blood; for they know not what it is to be frightened and to run away. Every one brings home for a trophy the head of some enemy that he has killed, which he sets up over the door of his house.

They eat their prisoners, and why.

After having treated their prisoners a good while in the handsomest manner they can think of, the person who has the property of them invites a great number of his acquaintance, and when they are come, ties a cord to one of the prisoners arms, by one end of which he holds him some paces distance, that he may not hurt him, and gives to the friend he loves best, the other arm, to hold in the same manner, and then they two, in presence of the whole assembly, run him through the body with their swords. This done, they roast him and eat him in common, and send some slices of him to their absent friends. They do not do this, as it is imagined, for the sake of nourishment, as the Scythians did of old, but to denote the last degree of revenge; as will appear by this, that perceiving, that when the Portuguese had taken any prisoners, they inflicted another sort of death upon them, which was to set them in the earth up to the waist, to let fly their arrows at the upper part, and then to hang them; they were of opinion that these people of the other world, (as they had made their neighbours acquainted with a great many vices, and far outstripped them in all sorts of mischief)

had

had a reason for taking this sort of revenge, and that it must be more severe than theirs, and so began to leave their old way, and to follow this. I am not sorry that we should here take notice of the barbarous cruelty of such an action; but rather that, while we judge so nicely of their faults, we are so blind to our own. I think there is more barbarity in eating a man alive than when he is dead; in tearing a body limb from limb, by racks and torments, while it has the sense of feeling, in roasting it by degrees, in causing it to be bit and worried by dogs and swine (as we have not only read but lately seen, not between veteran enemies, but between neighbours and fellow-citizens, and what is worse, under pretence of piety and religion) than in roasting and eating it after it is dead. Chrysippus* and Zeno, the two heads of the stoical sect, were of opinion that there was no hurt in making use of our dead bodies to any purpose whatsoever, to serve our occasions and even for our nourishment, as our ancestors, when besieged by Cæsar in the city Alexia, resolved to keep themselves from being starved to death by the bodies of their old men, women and other persons, incapable of bearing arms.

*Vascones, fama est, alimentis talibus usi
Produxere animas †.*

'Tis said the Gascons with such meats as these,
In time of siege their hunger did appease.

And the physicians scruple not to make use of human flesh every way, either inwardly or outwardly for our health. But the savages here treated of, never maintained any opinion so enormous as to excuse treason, disloyalty, tyranny, and cruelty, which are our familiar vices: we may therefore style them barbarous, with an eye to the laws of reason, but not in respect to ourselves, who exceed them in all kinds of barbarity.

* Diog. Laert. in the Life of Chrysippus, lib. vii. sect. 188.

† Juv. Sat. xv. ver. 93, 94.

The savages of America make war after a very noble manner.

Their warfare is quite noble and generous, and is as excusable and commendable as that human malady is capable of being, it having no foundation with them but the sole jealousy of virtue. They do not contend for the conquest of new lands, for those they possess still enjoy that natural fertility, which furnishes them, without labour and toil, with such an abundance of all necessaries, that they have no need to enlarge their borders.

Their moderation.

They are also happy in this circumstance, that they desire no more than what the necessities of nature demand, every thing beyond that, being to them superfluous.

Their cordiality to one another.

Men of the same age generally call one another brothers, those who are younger, children, and the old men are fathers to all. These leave to their heirs in common, the full possession of their goods and chattels, without any division or any other title than what nature bestows upon her creatures, at bringing them into the world.

All that they get by any victory over their neighbours.

If their neighbours come over the mountains to attack them, and obtain a victory over them, all that the conquerors gain by it is glory, and the advantage of proving their superiority in valour; for they take no spoils from the vanquished, but return home to their own country, where they have no want of any necessaries, nor of that happy knowledge how to live contentedly in their condition. And these in their turn do the same. They demand no other ransom of the prisoners they take, than the confession and acknowledgment of being vanquished. But there is not a man of them to be found in a whole century, who had not rather perish, than abate an ace of the grandeur of his invincible courage, either by a look or word. There is not one who had not rather be killed and eaten, than so much as open his mouth to desire he may not be so treated. They indulge them with full liberty, that their lives may be so much the dearer to them; yet com.

commonly accost them with menaces of their approaching death, of the torments which they are to suffer, of the preparations making for that purpose, of the mutilation of their members, and of the feast that is to be made on their carcases. And all this they do for no other purpose, but to extort some gentle or submissive word from them, or to put it into their heads to make their escape, for the sake of gaining the advantage of having terrified them, and shaken their constancy : and, indeed, if the thing be rightly considered, it is in this point only that true victory consists.

————— *Victoria nulla est,*

*Quam quæ confessos animo quoque subjugat hostes *.*

No victory's so true and so complete,

As when the vanquish'd own their just defeat.

That warlike nation, the Hungarians, did not pursue their point formerly beyond reducing the enemy to beg quarters : for after they had forced them to this submission, they let them go without injury, or ransom, or any greater demand upon them, than their promise not to bear arms against them for the future. We have several advantages over our enemies, that are borrowed, and not our own. To have stronger arms and legs than another man, is a qualification for a porter, but not for a man of true valour. The disposition of soldiers in battle array, is a lifeless corporeal quality ; if our enemy stumble, or his eyes are dazzled with the light of the sun, it is owing to fortune ; and to be a good fencer is a qualification of art and science, that may be attained by a coward and a poltron.

The estimation and value of a man consists in the heart, and the will, and therein lies his true honour ; valour is the stability, not of legs and arms, but of courage and the mind. It does not consist in the goodness of our horse, or our armour, but in ourselves. The man who falls obstinately courageous, *Si succiderit de genu pugnabit* † ; if his legs fail him,

What constitutes the true merit of a man, and his superiority over his fellow-creatures.

* Claudian de Sexto Consulatu Honorii Panegyris, ver. 248, 249.

† Senec. de Providentiâ.

will fight upon his knees. He who does not flinch be he in ever such imminent danger of death, and who when giving up the ghost, looks his enemy in the face with a stern and disdainful countenance, is conquered not by us, but by fortune; nay, he is killed, not conquered; the most valiant being sometimes the most unfortunate.

Defeats that are more meritorious than the greatest victories.

There are actually some defeats which may compare even with victories for triumph. As for those four sister victories, the most signal which the sun ever beheld, viz. those of Salamis, Platea, Mycale, and Sicily, they durst not set all their glory united in opposition to that of the defeat of king Leonidas, and his army, at the pass of Thermopylæ. Whoever ran with a more glorious emulation or ambition, to the winning, than the captain Ischolas did to the losing of a battle? Who ever found out a more ingenious and curious stratagem for his self-preservation, than he did for his own destruction? He was commissioned to defend a certain pass of the Peloponnesus against the Arcadians; but finding it impossible for him to do it upon observation of the nature of the place, and the inequality of his forces to that of the enemy, and being sure that no man who faced the enemy there, must ever expect to return; and on the other hand thinking it would be a reproach to his valour, and magnanimity, and to the Lacedæmonian name, to fail in his commission, he chose a medium * betwixt the two extremes, after this manner. The youngest and most active of his soldiers, he reserved for the defence and service of their country, and sent them home; and with the rest, whose loss would not be of so much consequence, he resolved to maintain this pass, and by the death of them, to make the enemy pay as dear a purchase as possible for their entry, as it accordingly fell out: for being instantly surrounded on all sides by the Arcadians, after having made a great slaughter of them, he and his men were all put to the sword.

* See Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xv. cap. 7. where the action of Ischolas is compared to that of king Leonidas, which Montaigne extols above the most celebrated victories.

Is any trophy erected to the victors, which is not rather due to the vanquished? The true way to victory is by fighting, not by coming off; and the honour of valour consists in the battle, not in the defeat.

To return to my story: these prisoners are so far from being humbled by any thing done to them, that, on the contrary, during the two or three months, that they are kept under guard, they appear with a brisk countenance, urge their keepers to make haste to bring them to the test; defy, rail at them, reproach them with cowardice, and with the number of battles they have lost.

The constancy of those savages that are taken prisoners.

I have a song made by one of these prisoners, wherein, he says, "They shall be welcome to meet, one and all, to dine upon him, and thereby eat their fathers and grandfathers, whose flesh had served to feed and nourish him. These muscles, says, he, this flesh and these veins, they are your own. Poor souls as you are, you little think that the substance of the limbs of your ancestors is here still. Do but mind the taste, and you will perceive the relish of your own flesh." This is a composition that has nothing of the taste of barbarism. They who paint him dying after being thus stabbed, paint the prisoner spitting in the faces of his executioners, and making mouths at them; and in truth, they never cease to brave and defy them both by looks and language, to the very last gasp. It is certain that these men compared to us are very savage, for in good faith either they must needs be such, or else we must, there being a wonderful difference betwixt their manners and ours.

The martial song of one of the savage prisoners.

The men here enjoy a plurality of wives, and the more eminent they are for their valour, the greater number they have.

The wives of the Cannibals.

There is one very extraordinary thing to be observed in their married state, viz. that as the jealousy of our wives, excites them to hinder us from the friendship and favour of other women, their wives have the same emulation to procure that happiness for their husbands: for being more careful to promote the

The nature of their jealousy.

honour of their husbands, than of any one thing besides; they seek out very eagerly for the most companions they can find for the husband, it being a testimony of his valour. Our wives, will say, this is monstrous! but it is not so. It is a virtue truly matrimonial, tho' of the highest form. We find in the Bible, that Sarah the wife of Abraham, and Jacob's wives, Leah and Rachel, furnished their husbands with their beautiful maids; Livia favoured the appetites of Augustus to her own prejudice; and Stratonice * the wife of king Dejotarus not only accommodated her husband with the enjoyment of a handsome young chambermaid in her service, but carefully brought up the children he had by her, and helped them to succeed to their father's dominions. And lest it should be thought that all this is done merely from a servile obligation to their customs, and by the impresson of the authority of their ancient practice, without reason or judgment, and for want of sense to take another course, it is necessary in this place to give some touches of their capacity.

Love songs of an
American sa-
vage.

Besides what I just now repeated from one of their military songs, I have another, a love-song of theirs, which begins in this manner, viz. "Stay, adder, stay, that by thy likeness, my sister may draw the fashion and work of a rich ribband for me to make a present of to my sweet-heart, by which means thy beauty and thy disposition, may at all times give thee the preference before all other serpents." Wherein the first couplet, Stay, adder, &c. makes the burden of the song. Now I am conversant enough with poetry, to judge thus much, that not only there is nothing barbarous in this thought, but that it is perfectly Anacreontic.

The language
of the savages.

Their language moreover is soft, and of a pleasing accent, resembling the terminations of the Greek.

* See Plutarch in his treatise of the Virtuous Deeds of Women, in the Article *Στρατονίαν*. The last English translation by Mr. Cotton, is guilty of a small blunder here, by making the name Stratonice, for that of a country. Galatia, says Plutarch, also produced Stratonice the wife of Dejotarus, &c. Tome xxxi. p. 258, the Paris Edition in 1624.

Three, of these people foreseeing how dear the knowledge of the corruption of this part of the world, would one day cost their happiness and repose, and that this correspondence would in the end prove their ruin, as I suppose it to be already in a fair way of doing so, (wretched men! to suffer themselves to be deluded with the desire of novelty, and to leave their own serene sky, to come and gaze at ours) were at Roan when the late King Charles IX. was there. The monarch himself talked to them a good while, and they were made to see our fashions, our pomp, and the form of a fine city; after which somebody asked their opinion, and wanted to know of them, what things they most admired of all they had seen? To which they made answer, three things, of which, I am sorry I have forgot the third, but two I yet remember. They said, in the first place, they thought it very strange that so many tall men wearing great beards, strong and well armed about the king's person, (by whom it is like, they meant his Swiss guards) should submit to obey a child, and that they did not rather choose out one among themselves to command. Secondly, That they had taken notice of men amongst us who were fat, and crammed with all manner of good things, whilst their halves* were begging at the gates, lean and half-starved with hunger and poverty; and they wondered how these necessitous halves, could put up with such unjust treatment, and not take the others by the throat, or set fire to their houses.

What some of the savages who came to France, thought of our manners.

I talked with one of them a good while, but I had so sorry an interpreter, who was so perplexed by his stupidity to apprehend my meaning, that I could get nothing of any moment out of him. Asking of what advantage his superiority over the people was to him, (for he was a captain, and our mariners styled him king) he told me "to march at the head of them to war:" and demanding further of him how many men he had to follow him?

Answer of one of the savages to Montaigne.

* It is an idiom in their language, to call men the half of one another.

He shewed me a space of ground, to signify as many as could stand in such a compass, which might be four or five thousand men : then putting the question to him, whether or no his authority expired with the war? he told me, " this part of it remained ; that when he went " to visit the villages of his dependence, they made " paths for him through their thickest woods, so that " he could pass from one place to another with ease." Upon the whole, this was not a bad thing. If you ask why? I answer, because they wear no breeches.

C H A P. XXXI.

That a Man must not be too hasty in judging of Divine Ordinances.

The subjects of impostures.

THINGS unknown are the true field and subject of imposture, forasmuch as in the first place, their very strangeness gives them credit, and moreover, by not being subjected to our ordinary discourse, they deprive us of the means to dispute them. For which reason, says Plato, it is much more easy to satisfy the hearers, when speaking of the nature of the gods, than of the nature of men, because the ignorance of the auditory affords a fair and large career, and all manner of liberty, in the handling of abstruse things ; thence it comes to pass, that nothing is so firmly believed, as what we least know : nor any people so confident as those who entertain us with fables, such as alchymists, judicial astrologers, fortune-tellers, physicians, and *Id genus omne* ; to whom I could willingly, if I durst, join a class of people, who take upon them to interpret and criticise the designs of God himself, pretending to find out the cause of every accident, and to pry into the secrets of the divine will, and the incomprehensible motives of his works *. And although the variety, and the continual discordance of

* People who pretend to give the most precise determination of the designs of God, the duration, efficacy, and extent of his favours, &c.

events, throw them from corner to corner, and from East to West, yet do they still persist in their vain inquisition, and with the same pencil paint black and white. In a nation of the Indies, there is this commendable custom, that when any thing befalls them amiss in any rencounter or battle, they publicly ask pardon of the sun, who is their God, as if they had committed an unjust action, always imputing their good or evil fortune to the divine justice, and to that submitting their own judgment and reason.

It is enough for a christian to believe, that all things come from God, to receive them with acknowledgment of his divine and unsearchable wisdom, and also to accept them in good part, with what face soever they may present themselves : but I do not approve of what I see in use, that is, to seek to establish and support our religion by the prosperity of our enterprizes. Our belief has other foundations enough, without authorizing it by events : for people accustomed to such plausible arguments as these, and so peculiar to their own taste, it is to be feared, lest when they fail of success, they should also stagger in their faith : as in the war wherein we are now engaged, upon account of religion, those who had the better in the affair of Rochelabeille *, rejoicing at that success, and boasting it as an infallible approbation of their cause, when they came afterwards to excuse their misfortunes at Jarnac † and Moncontour, it was by saying, they were fatherly scourges and corrections ; if they have not a people wholly at their mercy, they make it obvious enough to them, that is to take two sorts of grist out of the same sack, and with the same mouth to blow hot and cold. It were better to support a cause, with the real foundations of truth.

No authority
can be ascribed
to the Christian
religion, from
events.

* A great skirmish that had like to have caused a general battle, betwixt the troops of the Admiral de Coligny, and those of the Duke of Anjou, in May, 1569.

† These battles were won by the Duke of Anjou, the first in March, and the last in October, 1569.

A naval victory
gained over the
Turks.

It was a brave naval battle that was gained, a few months since, against the Turks *, under the command of Don John of Austria ; but it has also pleased God at other times, to let us see as great victories at our own expence. In fine, it is a hard matter to reduce divine things to our balance, without losing a great deal of the weight. And he that would take upon him to give a reason, why Arius, and his Pope Leo, the principal heads of the Arian heresy, should die at different times, in a way so much a-like and so strange, (for being withdrawn from the disputation, by the griping in the guts, they both of them suddenly gave up the ghost upon the stool), and would aggravate this divine vengeance, by the circumstance of the place ; might as well add the death of Heliogabalus, who was also slain in a house of office †. But what ? Irenæus was involved in the same fortune.

The good or
bad success of
men, no proof
either of their
merit or de-
merit.

God being pleased to shew us, that the good have something else to hope for ; and the wicked something else to fear, than the fortunes or misfortunes of the world, he manages, and applies them, according to his own secret will, and deprives us of the means, foolishly to make our own profit. And those people deceive themselves, who pretend to do it by human reason. They never give one hit that they do not receive two for it ; of which St. Augustin gives a very great proof on his adversaries. It is a conflict that is more decided by strength of memory than the force of reason. We are to content ourselves with the light it pleases the sun to communicate to us, by virtue of his rays, and he that will lift up his eyes to take in a greater, let him not think it strange, if for the punishment of his presumption, he thereby lose his sight. *Quis hominum potest scire consilium Dei ? Aut quis poterit cogitare, quid velit Dominus ?* “ Who amongst men can know the counsel of God ? Or who can think what the will of the Lord is ? ”

* In 1571.

† In *Latrinâ ad quam confugerat, occisus*, *Jelii* *Emperidii Heliogabalus*, p. 107.

‡ Wisdom, ch. iv. ver. 13.

C H A P. XXXII.

To avoid Pleasures, even at the Expence of Life.

I Had long ago observed most of the opinions of the ancients to concur in this, that it is high time to die, when there is more ill than good in living; and that to preserve life to our own torment and inconvenience, is repugnant to the very laws of nature, as these old rules instruct us.

Ἡ ζῆν ἀλύπως, ἢ θανεῖν εὐδαιμόνως,
Καλὸν διήσκειν οἷς ἔχειν τὸ ζῆν φέρεи,
Κρεῖσσον τὸ μὴ ζῆν εἶναι, ἢ ζῆν ἀθλιῶς.

Adieu! want, care, with mis'ry's various train,
Death then is happy, when to live is pain.

But to push this contempt of death so far as to employ it to the drawing off our thoughts from the honours, riches, dignities, and other favours and goods, as we call them, of fortune, as if reason were not sufficient to persuade us to avoid them, without this additional injunction, I had never seen it either commanded or practised, till this passage of Seneca fell into my hands; who advising Lucilius, a man of great power and authority about the emperor, to alter his voluptuous and magnificent way of living, and to withdraw himself from this worldly ambition, to some solitary, quiet, and philosophical life, and the other alledging some difficulties; "I am of opinion, (says Cicero, Ep. 22.) either that thou leave that life, or life itself. I would indeed advise thee to the more gentle way, and to untie, rather than to break, the knot thou hast indistinctly knit, provided, that if it be not otherwise to be untied, thou break it. There is no man so great a coward, that had not rather fall at once, than to be always falling." I should have thought this counsel suitable enough to the stoical roughness; but it appears the more strange, for being borrowed from Epicurus, who writes the same, upon the like occasion, to Idomeneus.

neus. Yet I think I have observed something like it, but with the Christian moderation, amongst our own people. St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, that famous enemy of the Arian heresy, being in Syria, had intelligence, that Abra his only daughter, whom he left at home with her mother, was sought in marriage by the gayest noblemen of the country, as being a virgin virtuously brought up, beautiful, rich, and in the flower of her age: whereupon he writ to her, (as it appears upon record,) that she should remove her affection from all those pleasures and advantages that were proposed to her; for he had in his travels found out a much greater and more worthy match for her, a husband of much greater power and magnificence, that would present her with robes, and jewels of inestimable value; his design in this was, to dispossess her of the appetite and use of worldly delights, and to join her wholly to God; but the nearest and most certain way to this, being, as he conceived, the death of his daughter; he never ceased, by vows, prayers, and oraisons, to beg of God to call her out of this world, and take her to himself, as accordingly it came to pass; for soon after his return, she died, at which he expressed a singular joy. This seems to out-do the other, forasmuch as he applies himself at first sight, to this method which they only take secondarily; and besides, it was towards his only daughter. But I will not omit the latter end of this story, though it be not to my purpose: St. Hilary's wife having understood from him, how the death of their daughter was brought about by his desire and design, and how much happier she was, to be removed out of this world, than to have stayed in it, conceived so lively an apprehension of the eternal and heavenly beatitude, that she begged of her husband, with the extremest importunity, to do as much for her; and God, at their joint request, calling her to him shortly after, it was a death embraced on both sides, with singular content.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Fortune is often met with in the Train of Reason.

SUCH is the inconstancy of the various biasses of fortune, that she cannot avoid appearing to us with all sorts of faces. Can there be a more express act of justice than this? The duke of Valentinois*, having resolved, in 1503, to poison Adrian cardinal of Cornetto, with whom Pope Alexander the Sixth, his father, and himself, were to sup at his house in the Vatican, he sent before a bottle of poisoned wine, and withal, strict order to the butler to keep it very safe. The Pope being come before his son, and calling for a whet, the butler supposing this wine was so strictly recommended to his care, only upon the account of its excellency, served a glass of it to the Pope, and the duke himself coming in presently after, and believing his bottle had not been touched, took also his glass; so that the father died immediately upon the place, and the son, after having been long tormented with sickness, was reserved to another, and a worse fortune.

Sometimes she seems to play upon us, just in the nick of time. Monsieur d'Estree at that time guidon to Monsieur de Vendosme; and Monsieur de Liques lieutenant to the company of the duke of Arscot, being both suitors to the Sieur de Foungefelles's sister, though of different parties, (as it oft falls out among frontier neighbours,) the Sieur de Liques carried her; but on the very day he was married, and which was worse, before he went to bed to his wife, the bridegroom having a mind to break a lance in honour of his new bride, went out to skirmish, near to St. Omers, where the Sieur d'Estree proving the stronger, took him prisoner, and to render his victory the more brilliant, the lady herself was fain

Fortune seems
sometimes to
sport with us.

* History of Francis Guicciardin, lib. vi. p. 267, printed at Venice, by Gabriel Giolito, in 1568.

(*Conjugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum*)
Quam veniens una, atque altera rursus hyems,
Noctibus in longis avidum saturasset amorem.*

Off her fair arms, the am'rous ring to break,
 Which clung so fast to her new spouse's neck,
 Ere of two winters many a friendly night
 Had fated their loves greedy appetite,

to request the favour of him, to deliver up his prisoner to her, as he accordingly did, the gentlemen of France never denying any thing to the ladies. Does not fortune seem to be an artist here? Constantine the son of Hellen, founded the empire of Constantinople, and some ages after, Constantine the son of Hellen, put an end to it. Sometimes she is pleased to emulate our miracles. We are told, that king Clovis besieging Angoulesme, the walls, by the divine favour, fell down of themselves. And Bouchet has it from some author, that king Robert having sat down before a city, and afterwards stolen away from the siege, to keep the feast of St. Aignan, at Orleans; as he was in devotion, at a certain part of the mass, the walls of the beleagured city, without any effort made against them, on a sudden tumbled down. But she did quite contrary in our Milan war; for captain Rense laying siege to the city Verona, and having carried a mine under a great part of the wall, it was lifted from its base, by the springing of the mine, but dropt down again, nevertheless, whole and entire, and so exactly upon its foundation, that the besieged suffered no inconvenience by it.

Fortune some-
 times turns
 doctor.

Sometimes she plays the physician. Jason Phereus being given over by the physicians, by reason of an imposthume in his breast, and having a mind to rid himself of it by death, rushed desperately into the thickest ranks of the enemy, where he was fortunately wounded quite through the body, so that the imposthume broke, and he was cured †.

* Catullus ad Manl. ver. 81, &c.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 50, Valerius Maximus who mentions this accident, lib. i. cap. 9. in Externis, represents the fact in a manner

Did she not also excel the painter Protogenes in the knowledge of his art? This man finished the picture of a dog quite tired, and out of breath, in all the other parts excellently well to his own liking, but not being able to express, as he would, the flaver and foam of his mouth, he was so vexed with his work, that he took a sponge, which, by cleaning his pencils, had imbibed a variety of colours, and threw it in a rage against the picture, with an intent utterly to deface it; when fortune guiding the sponge to hit just upon the mouth of the dog, it there performed what art could not attain to*.

Sometimes she is superior to art.

Does she not sometimes direct our counsels, and correct them? Isabel, queen of England, being to return from Zealand to her own kingdom, in 1326, with an army in favour of her son, against her husband, had been lost, had she come into the port she intended, being there laid wait for by the enemy; but fortune, against her will, threw her into another haven, where she landed in safety. And he of old, who throwing a stone at a dog, hit and killed his mother-in-law; had he not reason to pronounce this verse

And sometimes she corrects our counsels.

Ταυτόματου ἡμῶν καλλίω βελεύεταί †;

—By this you see,

Fortune takes surer aim than we.

|| Icetes had tampered with two soldiers to kill Timoleon, at Adrano in Sicily. They took their time to do it, when he was performing a sacrifice; when thrusting into the crowd, as they were making signs to one another, that now was a fit time for their business, in steps a third, who, with a sword struck one of them violently over the

She surpasses the rules of human prudence.

Still more miraculous, for he says, that Jason received this important service from an assassin. Seneca ascribes this accident to the same cause. De Benef. lib. ii. cap. 19.

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxv. cap. 10.

† Menander.

|| He was a Sicilian born at Syracuse that aimed to oppress the liberty of his country, of which Timoleon was the Protector. Plutarch in the life of Timoleon, chap. 7.

pate, and laying him dead upon the place, runs away. His companion concluding himself discovered, and undone, ran to the altar, and begged for protection, promising to discover the whole truth. And while he was laying open the whole conspiracy, behold a third man, who being apprehended, was, as a murderer, pulled and haled by the people through the crowd, towards Timoleon, and other the most eminent persons of the assembly, to whom he cried for pardon, pleading that he had justly slain his father's murderer; and proving upon the spot, by sufficient witnesses, which his good fortune very opportunely supplied him withal, that his father was really killed in the city of the Leontines, by that very man on whom he had taken his revenge, he was rewarded ten Attic * minæ, for having had the good fortune, while he was taking satisfaction for the death of his father, to preserve the life of the common father of the Sicilians. Thus fortune, in her conduct, surpasses all the rules of common prudence.

The father and son proscribed to die together, by a special favour of fortune.

To conclude, is there not a direct application of her favour, bounty, and piety, manifestly discovered in this action? Ignatius † the father, and Ignatius the son, being proscribed by the Triumviri of Rome, resolved upon this generous act of mutual kindness, to fall by the hands of one another, and by that means to frustrate the cruelty of the tyrants. Accordingly, with their swords drawn, they rushed one upon another, where fortune so guided the points, that they gave two wounds equally mortal, affording withal so much honour to so brave a friendship, as to leave them just strength enough to draw out of their wounds, their bloody weapons, that they might have liberty to clasp one another in this condition with so close an embrace, that the executioners cut off both their heads at once, leaving the bodies fast linked together in this noble knot, and their wounds close to each other, affectionately sucking in the blood, and the remainder of one another's lives.

* The old Attic mina was seventy-five drachms.

† Appian Alexand. de Bellis Civilibus, lib. iv. p. 969.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Of one Defect in our Government.

MY deceased father, who, for a man that had no other advantages than experience only, and his own natural parts, was nevertheless of a very clear judgment, has formerly told me that he once had thoughts of endeavouring to introduce this practice; that there might be in every city a certain place assigned, to which, such as stood in need of any thing might repair, and have their business entered by an officer appointed for that purpose; as for example, I want to sell, or to buy pearls: such a one wants company to go to Paris: such a one enquires for a servant of such a quality: such a one for a master: such a one enquires for an artificer: some for one thing, some for another, every one according to what he wants. And, I fancy, these mutual advertisements would be of no contemptible advantage to the public correspondence and intelligence: for there are always people that hunt after one another, and, for want of knowing one another's occasions, men are left in very great necessity.

The utility of a project of an office of enquiry.

I hear, to the great shame of the age we live in, that in our very sight, two most excellent men, for learning, died so poor, that they had scarce bread to put in their mouths, Lilius Gregorius Giraldus in Italy, and Sebastianus Castalio in Germany: and I do believe, there are a thousand men would have invited them into their families, with very advantageous conditions, or have relieved them where they were, had they known their wants. The world is not so generally corrupted, but that I know a man that would heartily wish the estate his ancestors have left him, might be employed, so long as it shall please fortune to let him possess it, to shelter remarkable persons of any kind, whom misfortune sometimes persecutes to the last degree, from

The miserable deaths of Giraldus and Castalio.

the danger of necessity; and at least place them in such a condition, that they must be very hard to please if they were not contented.

The very laudable regulations observed by Montaigne's father.

My father, in his economical government, had this order, (which I know how to commend, but by no means to imitate,) which was, that besides the register he kept of the household affairs, where the small accounts, payments and contracts, which do not require a secretary's hand, were entered, and which his bailiff always had in custody; he ordered him whom he kept to write for him, to keep a paper journal, and in it to set down all the remarkable occurrences, and daily memoirs of his family affairs; very pleasant to look over, when time begins to wear things out of memory, and very useful sometimes to put us out of doubt, when such a thing was begun, when ended, what visitors came, with what attendants, and how long they staid; our voyages, absences, marriages, deaths, reception of good or ill news; the change of principal servants, and the like. An ancient custom, which I think it would not be amiss for every one to revive in his own family; and I find I did very foolishly in neglecting the same.

C H A P. XXXV.

Of the Custom of wearing Cloaths.

What gave rise to the custom of some nations to go stark naked.

W HATEVER I shall say upon this subject, I am of necessity to force a barrier of custom, so careful has she been to shut up all the avenues. I was disputing with myself, in this cold season, whether the custom of going naked, in those nations lately discovered, is owing to the hot temperature of their air, as we say of the Moors and Indians, or whether it was the original custom of mankind: men of understanding, forasmuch as all things under the sun, as the holy writ declares, are subject to the same laws,

were wont in such considerations as these, where we are to distinguish the natural laws from those of human invention, to have recourse to the general polity of the world, where there could be nothing counterfeited. Now all other creatures being sufficiently furnished with necessaries for their existence, it is not to be imagined, that we only should be brought into the world, in a defective and indigent condition, and in a state that cannot subsist without foreign assistance; and therefore I believe, that as plants, trees, animals, and all things that have life, are by nature sufficiently covered, to defend them from the injuries of weather,

Propterea que ferè res omnes, aut corio sunt,

*Aut setâ, aut conchis, aut callo, aut cortice testæ *.*

And therefore shells, or rinds, or films inclose,

Or skin, or hair, on ev'ry body grows,

so were we : but as those who by artificial light put out that of the day, so we by borrowed forms have destroyed our own. And it is plain, that it is custom which renders that impossible to us, which otherwise is not so ; for of those nations who have no notion of cloathing, some are situated under the same temperate climate that we are, and some in much severer climates. And besides, our most tender parts are always exposed to the air, as the eyes, mouth, nose, and ears; and our peasants, like our ancestors in former times, go open-breasted to the waist. Had we been born with a necessity of wearing petticoats and breeches, there is no doubt, but nature would have fortified those parts she intended should be exposed to the fury of the seasons, with a thicker skin, as she has done the fingers ends, and the soles of the feet. And why should this seem hard to believe? I observe much greater difference betwixt my habit, and that of one of our country boers, than betwixt his, and a man that has no other covering but his skin. How many men, especially in Turkey, go naked upon the account of devotion? I know not who it was that asked a beggar, whom he saw in his shirt in

* Lucret. lib. iv. ver. 933, 934.

the depth of winter, as brisk as another muffled up to the ears in furs, how he could endure to go so. "Why," Sir, said he, you go with your face bare, but I am all "face." The Italians I think have a story of the Duke of Florence's fool, whom his master asking, "How," being so thin clad, he was able to support the cold, "which he himself was so guarded against?" "Why," replied the fool, use my receipt, to put on all the "cloaths you have at once as I do, and you will feel no "more cold than I*." King Massinissa, to an extreme old age, could never be prevailed upon to go with his head covered, how cold, stormy, or rainy soever the weather might be: which also is reported of the emperor Severus. Herodotus tells us †, that in the battles fought betwixt the Egyptians and the Persians, it was observed, both by himself and others, that of those who were left dead upon the place, the heads of the Egyptians were found to be without comparison harder than those of the Persians, by reason that the last had gone with their heads always covered from their infancy, first, with biggins, and then with turbans, and the others were always shaved and bare. And king Agesilaus, to a decrepid age, took care to wear always the same cloaths in winter, that he did in summer. Cæsar, says Suetonius ‡, marched always at the head of his army, for the most part on foot, with his head bare, whether it was rain, or sun-shine; and as much is said of Hannibal,

*Tum vertice nudo,
Excipere insanos imbres, cœlique ruinam ||.*

Exposing his bare head to furious show'rs,
While hail or rain in torrents on it pours.

A Venetian who has long lived in Pegu, and is lately returned from thence, writes, that the men and women of that kingdom, though they cover all their other parts, go always barefoot, and ride so too. And Plato very earnestly advises, for the health of the whole body,

* Cicero of old age, cap. x.

† Sueton. Jul. Cæsar, sect. 58.

‡ Lib. iii. p. 186, 187.

|| Silius It. lib. i. ver. 250, 251.

to give the head and the feet no other covering than what nature has bestowed. He whom the Poles have elected for their king, (since our's came thence) who is indeed one of the greatest princes of this age, never wears any gloves, and be it in winter, or whatever weather, never wears any other cap abroad than what he wears at home. Whereas I cannot endure to go unbuttoned, or untied; my neighbouring labourers would think themselves in fetters, if they were so braced. Varro is of opinion, that when it was ordained we should have our heads uncovered in the presence of the gods, or the magistrate *, it was rather so ordered upon the score of health, and to inure us to the injuries of weather, than upon the account of reverence. And since we are now treating of cold, and of Frenchmen being used to wear variety of colours, (not I myself, for I seldom wear other than black, or white, in imitation of my father,) let us add another story of captain Martin du Bellay, who affirms that, in his Luxembourg journey, he saw so sharp frosts, that the ammunition wine was cut with hatchets and wedges; delivered out to the soldiers by weight †, and that they carried it away in baskets: and Ovid says,

*Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testæ
Vina, nec hausta meri, sed data frustra bibunt ‡.*

—————The wine

Dug from its cask, retains the figure still,

Nor do they draughts, but crusts of Bacchus swill.

At the mouth of the lake Mœotis, the frosts are so very sharp, that on the same spot where the lieutenant of Mithridates had fought the enemy dry-foot, and given them a defeat, the summer following he also obtained over them a naval victory.

* Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxviii, cap. 6.

† Philip de Comines, speaking of such cold weather in his time (1469) in the principality of Liege, says, that the wine was in like manner in their pipes, and that it was dug out, and cut into the form of wedges, and so carried off by gentlemen in hats or baskets, lib. ii. cap. 14.

‡ Ovid Trist. lib. iii. El. 10, ver. 23, 24.

The Romans fought at a great disadvantage, in the engagement they had with the Carthaginians near Placentia *, by reason that they went on to charge with their blood chilled, and their limbs benumbed with cold, whereas Hannibal had caused great fires to be dispersed quite though the camp, to warm his soldiers, and oil to be distributed amongst them; to the end, that anointing themselves, they might render their nerves more supple and active, and fortify the pores against the piercing air, and freezing wind, that raged in that season.

Terrible ravages made by snow, in the mountains of Armenia.

The retreat the Greeks made from Babylon into their own country, is famous for the difficulties and calamities they had to overcome. Of which this was one, that being encountered in the mountains of Armenia, with a horrible storm of snow, they lost all knowledge of the country, and of the roads, and being shut up, were a day and a night without eating and drinking, during which most of their cattle died, many of themselves were starved, several struck blind with the driving of the hail, and the glittering of the snow, many of them maimed in their fingers and toes, and many rendered stiff and motionless with the extremity of the cold, who had yet their understanding entire.

Fruit trees buried in the winter.

Alexander saw a nation where they bury the fruit-trees in winter, to defend them from the frost, and we also may see the same.

How often the king of Mexico changed his cloaths in a day.

But concerning cloaths, the king of Mexico changed his cloaths four times a day, and never put them on more, employing those he left off in his continual liberalities and rewards; as also, neither pot, dish, nor other utensil of his kitchen, or table, was ever served in twice.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Of Cato the Younger.

I AM not guilty of the common error of judging another by myself. I easily admit the differences among mankind. And though I find myself engaged to one form, I do not oblige mankind to it as many do; but believe and apprehend a thousand opposite modes of living, and, contrary to most men, more easily admit of differences than uniformity amongst us. I, as frankly as any would have me, discharge another being from my humours and principles, and consider him according to his own model. Though I am not continent myself, I nevertheless sincerely approve the continency of the Capuchins, and other religious orders, and am pleased with their way of living. I fancy that I should like to be in their place, and love and honour them the more for being what I am not. I desire in particular, that we may be censured every man by himself, and would not be drawn into the consequence of common examples. My weakness does nothing alter the esteem I ought to have of the force and vigour of those who deserve it. *Sunt qui nihil suadent, quam quod se imitari posse confidunt* *. There are some who persuade nothing but what they believe they can imitate themselves. Crawling as I am upon the slime of the earth, I do not, for all that, cease to observe, up in the clouds, the inimitable height of some heroic souls: it is a great deal for me to have my judgment regular, if the effects cannot be so, and to maintain this sovereign part at least, free from corruption: it is something to have my will good when my legs fail me. This age wherein we live, in our part of the world at least, is grown so stupid, that not only the exercise, but the very notion of virtue is defective, and seems to be only college jargon.

————— *Virtutem verba putant, ut
Lucum ligna* *.

Words finely couch'd these men for virtue take ;
As if each wood a sacred grove could make.

Quam vereri deberent †, *etiam si percipere non possent* ‡.
Which they ought to reverence, though they cannot comprehend it. It is a mere gew-gaw to hang in a cabinet, or at the end of the tongue, as on the tip of the ear, for ornament only.

Vicious motives
destroy the es-
sence of virtue.

There are now no virtuous actions, and such as carry a shew of virtue have yet nothing of its essence ; by reason that profit, glory, fear, custom, and other such foreign causes, are generally incentives to them. The same may be said of justice, valour, and courtesy, in respect to others, and according to the face they appear with to the public. The practice of them is by no means virtue, because there is another end proposed, another moving cause. Virtue owns nothing to be hers, but what is done by herself, and for herself alone.

Why the Spar-
tiades refused
the reward of
valour to the
person who sig-
nalized himself
most in battle.

In that great battle of Potidæa ||, where the Greeks, under Pausanias, defeated Mardonius and the Persians, the conquerors, according to their custom, coming to divide amongst them the glory of the exploit, they attributed to the Spartan nation the pre-eminence of valour in this engagement. The Spartans, who were great judges of virtue, when they came to determine to what particular man of their nation the honour was due, of having behaved himself best upon this occasion, found that Aristodemus § had of all others hazarded his person with the greatest bravery. They did not however allow him any prize, because he had been incited by a desire to

* Horace, Ep. 6. lib. i. ver. 31, 32.

† Montaigne applies to virtue what Cicero here says of philosophy, and of those who presume to find fault with it.

‡ Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 2.

|| Montaigne has here put Potidæa for Plataea. Cornelius Nepos, in the Life of Pausanias, cap. 1. "Hujus est illustrissimam Prælium apud Plataeas."

§ Herodot. lib. ix. p. 614.

clear his reputation from the reproach it had incurred in the action at Thermopylæ.

Our judgments are sick, and conformable to the corruption of our manners. I observe most of the wits of these times pretend to shine by obscuring the glory of the brave and generous actions of former ages, putting some vile construction upon them, and forging vain causes and motives of them. A mighty subtilty indeed ! Shew me the greatest and most unblemished action in life, and I will invent fifty bad ends to obscure it : God knows, who's intention will extend them out to the full, what diversity of images our internal wills are liable to ; they do not censure so much from a spirit of malice, as from ignorance.

Many people study to depreciate the noblest deeds of the ancients.

The same pains and licence that others take to detract from these illustrious names, I would willingly take to raise them higher. As for those rare figures that are culled out by the consent of the wisest men, for an example to the world, I should not stick to honour them more, as far as my invention would permit, by the circumstances of favourable construction. And we are to believe that the force of our invention is infinitely short of their merit. It is the duty of good men to paint virtue as beautiful as possible ; and there would be no indecency in the case, should our passion a little transport us in favour of such sacred forms. What these people do to the contrary, they either do out of malice, or by the vice of confining their belief to their own capacity as aforesaid, or which I am more inclined to think, for not having their sight strong, clear, and elevated enough, to conceive the splendour of virtue in her native purity : as Plutarch complains, that in his time some attributed the cause of the younger Cato's death to his fear of Cæsar, at which he seems very angry, and with good reason : and by that a man may guess how much more he would have

Montaigne acts quite contrary, and why.

Various opinions of the death of the younger Cato.

have been offended with those who have attributed it to ambition : silly people ! he would have performed a handsome, just and generous action, though he had ignominy for his reward, rather than glory. That man was in truth a pattern, whom nature chose out to shew what height human virtue and constancy could arrive.

Choice passages
out of five poets
in praise of Cato,
compared and
estimated by
Montaigne.

But I am not capable of handling so noble an argument ; I will therefore only enter five Latin poets in the lists, contending in the praise of Cato ; and inclusively for their own too. Now a man well read in poetry, will think the two first, in comparison of the others, languishing ; the third more vigorous, but overthrown by the extravagancy of his own force. He will then think, that there will be yet room for one or two gradations of invention to come to the fourth ; and coming to mount the pitch of that, he will lift up his hand in admiration. At the last, the first by some space, (but a space that he will swear is not to be filled up by any human wit,) he will be astonished, he will not know where he is.

Excellent poetry
above rules.

It is very surprising that we have more poets than judges and interpreters of poetry. It is easier to write a poem, than to understand one. There is indeed a certain low poetry, that a man may judge by precepts and art ; but the true, supreme, and divine poesy is above all rules and reason. And whoever discerns the beauty of it, with a strong and steady sight, sees no more than a flash of lightning. This is a sort of poesy that does not exercise, but ravishes and overwhelms our judgment. The fury that possesses him who is able to penetrate into it, also strikes a third man by hearing him repeat it ; like a loadstone, that not only attracts the needle, but also communicates to it the virtue to attract others. And it is more evident at our theatres, that the sacred inspiration of the Muses, having first stirred up the poet to anger, sorrow, hatred, and to be out of himself, whenever they will, does moreover by the poet possess the actor, and by the actor

after consequently all the spectators. So much do our passions hang and depend upon one another.

Poetry has ever had that power over me from a child, to pierce and transport me: but this quick sense of it that is natural to me, has been variously handled by variety of forms, and not so much higher and lower, (for they were ever the highest in every kind,) as differing in colour. First, a gay and sprightly fluency, afterwards an acute and penetrating subtilty; and lastly, a mature and constant force. An example from Ovid, Lucan, and Virgil, will better express them. But our poets are beginning their career.

What sort of
poetry Mon-
taigne preferred.

One says,

Sit Cato dum vivit fama vel Cæsare major *.

————— Let Cato's fame,
Whilst he shall live, eclipse great Cæsar's name.

A second says,

——— *Et invictum devictâ morte Catonem* †.

And Cato fell, invincible in death.

And the third, speaking of the civil-wars betwixt Cæsar and Pompey;

Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni ‡.

————— Heaven approves
The conquering cause, the conquer'd Cato loves.

And the fourth, upon the praises of Cæsar, says,

*Et cuncta terrarum subacta,
Præter atrocem animum Catonis* §.

And conquer'd all where'er his eagle flew,
But stubborn Cato nothing could subdue.

The master of the choir, after having characterised the greatest Romans; ends thus,

——— *His dantem jura Catonem* §.

And Cato giving laws to all the rest.

* Mart. lib. vi. Epig. 32.
ver. 87.
i. ver. 23, 24.

† Lucan. lib. i. ver. 121.

‡ Manil. Astronomicon, lib. iv.
§ Virgil Æneid, lib. viii. ver. 670.

|| Hor. Car. lib. ii. Od.

C H A P. XXXVII.

That we laugh and cry for the same thing.

The death of the
vanquished be-
wailed by the
victors.

WHEN we read in history, that Antigonus was very much displeased with his son, for presenting him the head of king Pyrrhus his enemy, just killed fighting against him, and that seeing it he heartily wept * : that Rene, duke of Lorraine, also lamented the death of Charles, duke of Burgundy †, whom he had just defeated, and appeared in mourning at his funeral : and that, in the battle of Auroy ‡ (which the count de Montfort obtained over Charles de Blois, his competitor for the duchy of Brittany,) the conqueror meeting the corpse of his enemy, was much afflicted at his death § ; we must not presently cry out,

*Et così aven che l'animo ciascuna,
Sua passion sotto el contrario manto,
Ricopre, con la vista hor' chiara, kor' bruna ||.*

There ev'ry person, whether of joy or woe,
The passion of his mind can govern so,
As when most griev'd, to shew a visage clear,
And melancholic, when best pleas'd appear.

When Pompey's head was presented to Cæsar, history tells us, that he turned away his face, as from a sad and displeasing object. There had been so long a correspondence betwixt them, in the management of the public affairs, so great a community of fortunes, so many mutual offices, and so near in alliance, that this countenance of his ought not to suffer under any misinterpretation ; or to be altogether suspected, for false or counterfeit, as this author seems to believe :

————— *Tutumque putavit
Jam bonus esse socer, lachrymas non sponte cadentes
Effudit, gemitusque expressit pectore læto ¶.*

* Plutarch, in the life of Pyrrhus.

† Before Nancy in 1477.

‡ In 1364 in the reign of Charles V. king of France.

§ Froissart,

vol. i. cap. 228.

¶ Petrarch, fol. 25, edition of 1545.

¶ Lucan, lib. ix. ver. 1037.

————— And now he saw

'Twas safe to be a pious father-in-law,
He shed forc'd tears, and from a joyful breast,
Fetch'd sighs and groans.

For though it be true, that most of our actions are deceitful, and that sometimes

Haredis fletus sub personâ risus est †.

The heirs dissembled tears behind the skreen,
Could one but peep, would joyful smiles be seen.

Yet, in judging of these accidents, we are to consider how much our souls are oftentimes agitated with different passions. And, as they say, that in our bodies there is a collection of divers humours, of which, that is the governing passion, which, according to the complexion we are of, is commonly most predominant in us: so, though the soul have it in divers motions to give it agitation; yet there must be one master of the field, yet not with so intire a conquest, but that through the flexibility and inconstancy of the soul, those of less authority, may, upon occasion, re-assume their place, and make a little sally in turn. Thence it is that we see not only children, who simply follow nature, often laugh and cry at the same thing; but not one of us can boast, what journey soever he may have in hand that he has set his heart upon, but when he comes to part with his family and friends, he will find something within that troubles him; and though he refrain his tears, yet he puts foot in the stirrup, with a sad and cloudy countenance. We may farther observe, that whatever kindly flame have warined the heart of well-born virgins, yet they are fain to be forced from about their mothers necks, to be put to bed to their husbands, whatever this boon companion is pleased to say:

*Estne novis nuptis odio Venus, anne parentum
Frustrantur falsis gaudia lachrymalis,*

† Aulus Gellius ex Noctes Publii Mimis, lib. xvii. cap. 14.

Ubertim Thalami quas intra limina fundunt ?

*Non, ita me Divi, vera gemunt, juverint *.*

Does the fair bride the sport so greatly dread,
That she takes on so, when she's put to bed,
Her parents joys t'allay with a feign'd tear ?
She does not cry in earnest, I dare swear.

So that it is not strange to lament the death of a person, whom a man would by no means should be alive : when I rattle my man, I do it with all the mettle I have, and give him no feigned, but hearty real curses ; but the heat being over, if he should stand in need of me, I should be very ready to do him good ; for I instantly turn over a new leaf. When I call him calf and coxcomb, I do not mean to entail those titles upon him for ever ; neither do I think I give myself the lye in calling him an honest fellow presently after. No one quality engrosses us abstractedly and universally. Were it not the sign of a fool to talk to one's self, there would hardly be a day or hour wherein I might not be heard to mutter to myself, and against myself, Wretched fool that I am ! And yet I do not think that to be my character. He who seeing me one while cold, and presently very fond of my wife, believes the one or the other to be counterfeited, is an ass. Nero, taking leave of his mother, whom he sent to be drowned, was nevertheless sensible of some emotion at this farewell, and was struck with horror and pity. It is said, that the light of the sun is not one continuous thing, but that it darts news rays so quick one upon another, that we cannot perceive the intermission.

*Largus enim liquidi fons luminis ætherius Sol
Irrigat assidue cælum candore recenti,
Suppetit atque novo confestim lumine lumen †.*

For the æthereal sun that shines so bright,
Being a fountain large of liquid light,
With fresh rays sprinkles still the chearful sky,
And with new light the light does still supply.

* Catull. de Cornâ Berenices, Num. lxiv. ver. 15.

† Lucret. lib. v. ver. 282, &c.

Just so the soul variously and imperceptibly darts out her passions.

Artabanus surprizing once his nephew Xerxes, chid him for the sudden alteration of his countenance. As he was viewing his forces without number, passing over the Hellespont, for the Grecian expedition, his heart leaped with joy, to see so many thousands of men under his command; it also appeared in the gaiety and alacrity of his countenance*. But his thoughts at the same instant suggesting to him, that of so many lives, in an age at most, there would not be one left, he knit his brows, and grew sad, even to the shedding of tears.

Xerxes both transported with joy and overwhelmed with sadness at the sight of his vast army.

We have resolutely pursued the revenge of an injury received, and felt a singular satisfaction in the victory: yet we are sorry, though it is not for the victory that we weep: there is nothing altered in that: but the soul looks upon the thing with another eye, and represents it to itself with another kind of face: for every thing has many biasses and aspects. Relations, old acquaintances, and friendships, possess our imagination, and make it tender for the time, according to their condition; but the revolution is so quick, that we do not perceive it.

The soul does not look upon things with one and the same eye, nor with one and the same bias.

*Nil adeò fieri celeri ratione videtur,
Quàm si mens fieri proponit, et inchoat ipsa.
Ocius ergo animus quàm res se perciet ulla,
Ante oculos quarum in promptu natura videtur †.*

As no one action seems so swiftly done,
As what the mind has plann'd, and once begun;
This observation evidently proves,
The mind than other things more swiftly moves.

Therefore, while we desire to make a work complete, and all of a piece, we deceive ourselves. When Timoleon laments the murder he had committed, after

* Herodot. lib. vii. p. 456, 457.

† Lucr. lib. iii. ver. 183, &c.

so mature and generous deliberation, he does not lament the liberty restored to his country, he does not lament the tyrant, but he laments his brother: one part of his duty is performed, let us give him leave to perform the other.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

Of Solitude.

LET us lay aside that old comparison betwixt the active, and the solitary life, and as for the fine saying which is made a cloak for ambition and avarice, "That we are not born for ourselves, but for the public," let us boldly appeal to those who are in public affairs, let them lay their hands upon their hearts, and then say, whether on the contray, they do not rather aspire to titles and offices, and that hurry of the world, to make their private advantage at the public expence. The corrupt means by which they push their way in our time, manifestly declare that their end cannot be very good. Let us then tell ambition, that it is she herself who gives us a taste of solitude; for what does she so much avoid as society? What does she so much seek as elbow-room? A man may do well, or ill, every where: But if what Bias says be true, that the greatest part is the worst part, or what the Preacher says, that there is not one good of a thousand;

*Rari quippe boni : numero vix sunt totidem, quos
Thebarum portæ, vel divitis ostia Nili †.*

How few good men are number'd on this soil!

Scarce more than gates of Thebes, or mouths of Nile.
the contagion is very dangerous in the croud.

To associate † There is a necessity for men either
with the wicked to imitate others, or to hate them: both
fatal. are to be avoided; the former, lest we

* Lucr. lib. iii. ver. 183, &c.

† Juv. Sat. xiii. ver. 26, 27.

‡ These reflections were a genuine translation from Seneca, Ep. 7. who has these very words, "Necesse est aut imiteris aut oderis. Utrum-
"que autem devinandum est, ne vel simili, malis fias, quia multi sunt,
"nece inimicus multis, quia dissimiles sunt."

become like to the wicked, because they are many; the latter, for fear of hating the many, because they are unlike us. And merchants that go to sea have reason to be cautious, that those who embark with them in the same bottom be neither dissolute blasphemers, nor vicious other ways; looking upon such society as unfortunate. And therefore it was, that Bias * pleasantly said to some, who being with him in a dangerous storm implored the assistance of the gods, "Hold your peace, that they may not know you are in my company." And as a more forcible example, Albuquerque, viceroy in the Indies, for Emanuel king of Portugal, being in extreme peril of shipwreck, took a little boy upon his shoulders, for this only end; that being a sharer of their danger, his innocence might serve to protect him, and to recommend him to the divine favour, that they might get to shore: a wise man may indeed live every where content, and be retired even in the croud of a palace; but if it be left to his own choice, he will tell you, that he would fly the very sight of the latter; he can endure it, if need be; but if it be left to himself, he will chuse the first. He does not think himself sufficiently rid of vice, if he must yet contend with it in other men: Charondas † punished those for ill men, who were convicted of keeping ill company. There is nothing so unfociable, and sociable, as man; the one by his vice, the other by his nature. And Antisthenes ‡, in my opinion, did not give a satisfactory answer, when he was reproached with frequenting ill company, by saying, "That the physicians lived well amongst the sick;" for if they contribute to the health of the sick, no doubt but by the contagion, continual sight of, and familiarity with diseases, they must of necessity impair their own health.

Now the end I suppose is all one, to live at more leisure, and at greater ease: The aim of solitude.

but men do not always take the right course to it; for

* Diog. Laert. in the Life of Bias, lib. i. sect. 6.

† Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xii. ch. 4.

‡ Diog. Laert. in the Life of Antisthenes.

they often think they have taken leave of business, when they have only exchanged one employment for another. There is little less trouble in governing a family, than a whole kingdom: wherever the mind is perplexed, it is in an entire disorder, and domestic employments are not less troublesome for being less important. Moreover, because we have left the court and the exchange, we are not rid of the principal vexations of life.

———— *Ratio, et prudentia curas,*

Non locus effusi latè maris arbiter aufert *.

Reason and prudence our affections ease,
Not the bold site that wide commands the seas.

Solitude does
not free us from
our vices.

Our ambition, our avarice, irresolution, fears, and inordinate desires, do not leave us when we change our country:

————— *Et*

Post equitem sedet atra cura †.

And when he rides, black Care sits close behind.

Our passions oft follow us even to cloisters, and philosophical schools; nor desarts, nor caves, hair-shirts, nor fasts, can disengage us from them:

————— *Hæret lateri lethalis arundo* ‡.

The fatal shaft sticks to the wounded side.

A person telling Socrates §, that such a one was nothing improved by his travels, “No wonder,” said he, “for he travelled along with himself.”

— *Quid terras alio calentes*

Sole mutamus? patriâ quis exul?

Se quoque fugit ||?

To change our native soil, why should we run,
And seek one warmed by a fiercer sun?
For who in exile ever yet could find,
He went abroad, and left himself behind?

* Hor. lib. i. epist. 11. ver. 25, 26.
† Virg. Æn. lib. iv. ver. 73.
lib. ii. Ode 16. ver. 18, &c.

† Ib. lib. iii. Ode 1, ver. 40.
§ Senec. Ep. 104.

|| Hor.

If a man do not first discharge both himself and his mind, of the burthen with which he is oppressed, motion will but make it press the harder: as in a ship, the lading is of less incumbrance, when it is well settled. You do a sick man more harm than good, in removing him from place to place; you confirm the disease by stirring him, as stakes sink deeper into the earth, by being moved up and down. And therefore it is not enough to be remote from the public; it is not enough to shift the situation, a man must fly from the popular dispositions that have taken possession of his soul, he must lay himself aside, and come to himself again.

—— *Rupi jam vincula, dicas.*

*Nam et luctata canis nodum arripit: attamen illi
Cum fugit, à collo trahitur pars longa catenæ*.*

Thou'lt say, perhaps, that thou hast broke the chain,
Why, so the dog has gnaw'd the knot in 'twain
That ty'd him there; but as he flies, he feels
The pond'rous chain still rattling at his heels.

We still carry our fetters along with us; it is not an absolute liberty; we still look back upon what we have left behind us, our heads are full of it.

—— *Nisi purgatum est pectus, quæ prælia nobis
Atque pericula tunc ingratis insinuandum?
Quantæ conscindunt hominum cuppedinis acres
Sollicitum curæ, quantique perinde timores?
Quidve superbia, spurcities, petulantia, quantas
Efficiunt clades, quid luxus, desidiesque†.*

Unless the mind be purg'd, what conflicts dire,
And dangers will not ev'ry thought inspire!
Th' ungrateful man, how many bitter cares
Incessant gall, and then how many fears!
What horrid massacres from pride ensue,
From sloth, lust, petulance, and from lux'ry too?

Our disease is in the mind, which can- In what true so-
not escape from itself; litude consists.

* Persius, Sat. v. ver. 153, &c.

† Lucret. lib. v. ver. 44—49.

In culpa est animus, qui se non effugit unquam *.

Still in the mind the fault doth lie,

That never from itself can fly.

and is therefore to be called in, and contracted. This is the true solitude, and such as may be enjoyed even in populous cities, and the courts of kings; though more commodiously apart.

Now if we will attempt to live alone, and to get rid of company, let us so order it, that our contentment may be in our own power. Let us dissolve all obligations that attach us to others: let us be so far our own masters, that we may live alone in good earnest, and live at our ease too.

Constancy in the
midst of misfor-
tunes.

Stilpo having escaped from the fire that consumed the city where he lived, by which his wife, children, with all his substance were destroyed, Demetrius Poliorcetes, seeing his countenance not dismayed in so great a ruin of his country, asked him if he had received no loss †? To which he made answer, No; and that, God be thanked, nothing was lost of his. This also was the meaning of the philosopher Antisthenes, when he pleasantly said, ‡ that men should only furnish themselves with such things as could float on the water, and swim with the owner to escape a shipwreck: and certainly a wise man loses nothing, if he save but himself. When the city of Nola was ruined by the Barbarians, Paulinus, who was bishop of that place, having there lost all he had, and being himself a prisoner, prayed after this manner §, “O Lord, defend me from being sensible of this loss; for thou knowest, they have yet touched nothing that I could call mine;” the riches that made him rich, and the goods that made him good, remained still entire.

The true treasure which sets
a man above in-
juries.

This it is to make choice of treasures that can secure themselves from injury, and to hide them in a place, where no one can enter, and which cannot be be-

* Hor. lib. i. Ep. 14.

† Senec. Ep. ix.

‡ Diogenes Laert. in the Life of Antisthenes.

§ Augustin, de Civitate Dei, lib. i. cap. xviii.

trayed by any but ourselves. Wives, children, goods, and especially health, are means of comfort; but we are not to set our hearts upon them, as that they become absolutely necessary to our happiness: we must reserve a back-room, wholly our own, and entirely free, wherein to fix our liberty, our principal retreat and solitude. Here must we have converse with ourselves, and so privately, that no knowledge or communication of any foreign concern, be admitted; there to talk and to laugh, as if without wife, children, goods, train, or attendance, to the end, that when we happen to lose any, or all of these, it may be no new thing to us to be without them. We have a mind pliable of itself, that is capable of getting company, has wherewithal to attack and to defend, to receive, and to give: let us not then fear in this solitude, to languish under an uncomfortable idleness.

In solis sis tibi turba locis *.

In solitary places be

Unto thyself good company.

Virtue is satisfied with herself, without discipline, without words, without effects. In our ordinary actions, there is not one of a thousand that concerns ourselves: he that thou seest scrambling up the ruins of that wall, furious, and out of his mind, against whom so many muskets are levelled; and that other, all over scars, pale, and fainting with hunger, and yet resolved rather to die, than to open his gate to him, dost thou think that these men are there upon their own account? No; perhaps, in the behalf of one whom they never saw, and that never concerns himself what becomes of them, but lies wallowing the while in sloth and pleasure: this other flavering, blear-eyed, slovenly fellow, that thou seest come out of his study after midnight, dost thou think he has been tumbling over books, to learn how to become a better

Men put themselves into a flurry for a thousand things that don't concern them.

* Tibull. lib. iv. Eleg. xiii. ver. 12.

man, wiser, and more content? No such matter, he will there end his days, but he will teach posterity the measure of Plautus's verses, and the orthography of a Latin word: who does not voluntarily exchange his health, his repose, and his very life, for reputation and glory, the most useless, frivolous, and false coin, that is current amongst us? Our own death does not sufficiently terrify us, but we moreover charge ourselves with that of our wives, children, and family: our own affairs do not afford us anxiety enough, but we also meddle with those of our neighbours and friends, to crack our brains, and torment us.

*Vah, quenquamne hominem in animum instituere, aut Parare, quod sit carius, quàm ipse est sibi * ?*

Alas! what mortal will be so unwise,

Any thing dearer than himself to prize?

To whom solitude is most becoming.

Solitude seems to me to be the most becoming and rational, in such as have already employed their most active and flourishing age in the world's service; according to the example of Thales. It is enough to have lived for others, let us at least live out the small remnant of life for ourselves; let us now call in our thoughts and intentions to ourselves, and consult our own ease: it is no light thing to make a sure retreat; there will be enough to do, without a mixture of other enterprizes. Since God gives us leisure to prepare for our remove, let us make ready, truss our baggage, take leave betimes of the company; let us disentangle ourselves from those violent importunities that engage us elsewhere, and alienate us from ourselves: we must break the knot of our obligations, how strong soever, and no longer love this or that, but espouse nothing beside ourselves: that is to say, let the remainder be our own; but not so joined, and so close rivetted, as not to be forced away without slaying us, and tearing away part of us with it.

* Ter. Adelph. Act. 1. sect. i. ver. 13, 14.

The greatest thing in the world is for a person to know that he is his own master. It is time to wean ourselves from society, when we cannot add any thing to it; and he that is not in a condition

OF what importance it is for a man to know that he is his own master.

to lend, must take care not to borrow. Our forces and abilities fail us; let us call them in, and keep them to ourselves: he that can, within himself, obliterate and jumble together the offices of so many friendships, and of society, let him do it: in this decay of nature, which renders him useless, burthensome, and troublesome to others, let him take care not to become useless, burthensome, and uneasy to himself: let him sooth and caress himself; and, above all things, be sure to govern himself with awe and reverence to his reason and conscience, so as to be ashamed to make a false step in their presence. *Rarum est enim, ut satis se quisque vereatur* *.

“For it is rarely seen that men have respect and reverence enough for themselves.” Socrates says, that youth are to cause themselves to be instructed, grown men to exercise themselves in well doing, and old men to retire from all civil and military employments, living at their own discretion, without the obligation to any office.

There are some complexions more proper for these precepts of retirement, than others. Such as are of a moist

The constitutions most fitted for retirement.

and cold constitution, and of a tender will and affection, and which is not easily subdued nor employed, as I am, both by nature and reason, will sooner incline to this advice, than active and busy souls, which embrace all, engage in all, and are hot upon every thing; who offer, present, and give themselves up to every occasion. We are to serve ourselves with these accidental and extraneous things, so far as they are pleasant to us, but by no means to lay our principal foundation there. This is no true one, neither nature nor reason allow it so to be, and why therefore should we, contrary to their laws,

* Pythagoras.

make our own contentment a slave to the power of another? To anticipate also the accidents of fortune, and to deprive ourselves of those advantages we have in our own hands, as several have done out of devotion, and some philosophers by reason; to serve a man's self, to lie hard, to put out our own eyes, throw wealth into the river, and to seek out grief, (some by the uneasiness and misery of this life, to acquire bliss in another; others by laying themselves low, to avoid the danger of a new fall,) are acts of an excessive virtue. The stoutest and most obstinate natures, render even their secret retirements, glorious and exemplary.

—*Tuta & parvula laudo,
Cum res deficiunt; satis inter vilia fortis.
Verum, ubi quid melius contingit & unctius, idem
Vos sapere, & solos aio bene vivere, quorum
Conspicitur nitidis fundata pecunia villis* *.

Thus I, when better entertainments fail,
Bravely commend a plain and frugal meal:
On cheaper suppers, shew myself full wise;
But if some dainties more luxurious rise,
I call those wise and blest, and only those,
Whose large estates their splendid mansion shews.

A great deal less would serve my turn well enough. It is enough for me, under fortune's favour, to prepare myself for her disgrace, and, being at my ease, to represent to myself, as far as my imagination can stretch, the ill to come; as we do at jousts, and tiltings, where we counterfeit a war in the greatest calm of peace. I do not think Arcefilaus † the philosopher, a whit the more extravagant, for knowing that he made use of gold and silver vessels, when his fortune allowed him so to do; but have a better opinion of him, than if he had denied himself what he used with liberality and moderation.

The limits of
natural neces-
sities.

I see the utmost limits of natural necessity, and considering the poor man begging at my door oftentimes more jo-

* Hor. lib. i. epist. 15. ver. 42—45.
of Arcefilaus, lib. iv. sect. 38.

† Diog. Laert. in the life

cund and healthy than I am, I put myself in his place, and attempt to dress my mind after his mode, running, in like manner, over other examples; though I fancy death, poverty, contempt, and sickness treading on my heels, I easily resolve not to be afraid of what one, so much my inferior, bears with so much patience, and am not willing to believe that a less understanding can do more than a greater, or that argument can do as much as custom: and knowing how trifling these accidental conveniencies are, I do not forget, in the height of all my enjoyments, to make my chief prayer to Almighty God, that he will please to render me content with myself, and the condition wherein I am. I see several young men, very gay and frolicksome, who nevertheless keep a heap of pills in their trunks at home, to take when the rheum shall seize them, which they fear so much the less, because they think they have a remedy at hand. Every one should do the same, and, moreover, if they find themselves subject to some more violent disease, should furnish themselves with such medicines as may benumb and stupify the part.

The employment a man should chuse for such a life, ought neither to be laborious nor tedious, otherwise it is to no purpose at all to be retired: and this depends upon every one's particular taste; mine has no manner of bias to husbandry, and such as love it ought to apply themselves to it with moderation.

What occupation suits a solitary life.

*Conantur sibi res, non se submittere rebus **

A man should to himself his business fit,
But not to servile drudgery submit.

Husbandry is otherwise a very servile employment, as Sallust tells us; though some parts of it are less so than others, as the care of gardens, which Xenophon attributes to Cyrus; and a mean may be found out betwixt that low and fordid application, so full of solicitude, which is seen in men who make it their entire business

and study, and that stupid and extraordinary negligence letting all things go at random.

— *Democriti pecus edit agellos,
Cultaque, dum peregrè est animus sine corpore velox* *.

Democritus' cattle spoils his fruits and corn,
Whilst he aloft on fancy's wings is born.

With what
view Pliny
and Cicero ad-
vised retire-
ment.

But let us hear what advice the younger Pliny gives his friend † Cornelius Rufus, upon the subject of solitude; I advise thee, in the profound but plentiful retirement, wherein thou art, to leave to thy servants the care of thy husbandry, and to addict thyself to the study of letters, in order to extract from thence something that may be for ever thine own. By which, he means reputation; a humour like Cicero's, who says, that he would employ his solitude and retirement, from public affairs, to acquire by his writings an immortal life.

— — — *Usque adeóne
Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter* ‡ ?

Must thou thy knowledge then be forc'd to own
Useless to thee, unless to others known ?

It appears to be reason, when a man talks of retiring from the world, that he should look quite out of himself. These do it but by halves. They design well enough for themselves, it is true, when they shall be no more in it; but still they pretend to extract the fruits of that design from the world, though absent from it, by a supposition ridiculously contradictory.

What is to be
thought of the
solitude which
is courted for
the sake of
devotion.

The imagination of those who seek solitude upon the account of devotion, filling their hopes with certainty of divine promises in the other life, is much more rationally founded. They propose to themselves God, an infinite object in

* Hor. Epist. 12. lib. i. ver. 12, 13.
† In Epist. 3. lib. i. to Cani-
nius Rufus.

‡ Pers. Sat. i. ver. 26, 27.

goodness and power. The soul has there wherewithal, at full liberty, to satiate her desires. Afflictions and pains turn to their advantage, while they are employed in the acquisition of health, and joys everlasting. Death is to be wished for, as it is the passage to so perfect a condition. The severity of the rules they impose upon themselves, is soon softened by custom, and their carnal appetites damped and subdued, by resisting them; for they are only supported by use and exercise. This sole end therefore, viz. another happy and immortal life, justly merits, that we should abandon the pleasures and conveniences of this. And he that can really and constantly inflame his soul with the ardour of his lively faith and hope, secures to himself in this solitude, the most voluptuous and delicious life that can be enjoyed.

Neither the end then, nor the means of this advice of Pliny's *, pleases me, for we often fall out of the frying-pan into the fire. This book-work is as painful as any other, and as great an enemy to health, which ought to be the chief care of every man; neither ought a man to be lulled with the pleasure of it, which is the same that destroys the frugal, the avaritious, the voluptuous, and the ambitious man. The wise give us caution enough, to beware of the treachery of our desires, and to distinguish true and genuine pleasures, from such as are mixed and complicated with great pain. For the greatest part of pleasures, say they, tickle and caress, only to strangle us, like those thieves the Egyptians called Philetas †; and we should have care of drinking too much, when we have the head-ach: but pleasure, to deceive us marches before, and conceals her train. Books are pleasant, but if by too much conversing with them, we impair our health, and spoil our good humour, two of the best enjoyments we have, let us give it over and quit them; I for my part am one of those, who think

The deficiency of Pliny's and Cicero's advice.

* Viz. The advice of Pliny and Cicero, that we should quit business, and apply to study, in order to get immortal fame by some composition.

† Seneca, Epist. 51.

that no fruit derived from them, can recompence so great a loss. As men who feel themselves weakened by a long series of indisposition, give themselves up at last to the mercy of medicine, and prescribe to themselves certain rules of living, which they are never more to transgress; so he who retires, weary of, and disgusted with the common way of living, ought to model this new one he enters into, by the rules of reason. He ought to have taken leave of all sorts of labour, what face soever it bears, to shake off all those passions in general, which disturb the tranquility of body and soul, and to chuse the way that best suits with his own humour :

Unusquisque sua noverit ire via †.

We each know best to what we are inclin'd.

In husbandry, study, hunting, and all other exercises, men are to proceed to the utmost limits of pleasure; but must take heed of engaging farther, where begins a mixture of trouble. We are to reserve so much occupation and employment only, as is necessary to keep us in breath, and to defend us from the inconveniences, which the other extreme, of a dull and stupid laziness, brings along with it.

Certain sciences with which the mind must not be embarrassed.

There are some sterile, knotty sciences, and chiefly hammered out for the crowd; let such be left to them who are engaged in the public service; I, for my part, care for no other books, but either such as are pleasant and easy, to delight me, or those that comfort and instruct me how to regulate my life and death.

*—Tacitum sylvas inter reptare salubres,
Curantem quidquid dignum sapiente bonoque est †.*

Silently meditating in the groves,
What best a wise and honest man behoves.

* Propert. lib. ii. Eleg. xxv. ver. 38.
ver. 4, 5.

† Hor. lib. i. Epist. iv.

Wiser men may carve to themselves a repose wholly spiritual, as they have great force and vigour of mind; but for me, who have not an extraordinary soul, I find it very necessary to support myself with bodily conveniencies; and age having of late deprived me of those pleasures that were most to my fancy, I whet my appetite to those that remain, and are more suitable to this other season. We ought to take fast hold of the pleasures of life, which our years, one after another, snatch away from us.

——*Carpamus dulcia; nostrum est*

Quod vivis: cinis, & manes, & fabula fies.*

Let us enjoy life's sweets, for shortly we,
Ashes, pale ghosts, and fables, all shall be.

Now as to glory, the end that Pliny and Cicero propose to us, I am far from putting it to the account; for ambition is the most contrary quality to solitude; and glory and repose are so inconsistent, that they cannot possibly inhabit in one and the same place. In my opinion, these have only their arms and legs disengaged from the crowd, their affections remaining attached to it more than ever.

Glory and tranquility incompatible.

Tun', vetule, auriculis alienis colligis escas †?

Dost thou, old dotard, at these years,
Steal scraps of verse for others ears?

They are only retired to take a better leap, and by a stronger motion, to make the greater push into the crowd. Will you see how they shoot short? Let us put into the balance, the advice of two philosophers of two very different sects ‡, writing the one to Idomeneus, the other to Lucilius, their friends, to draw them to solitude, from worldly honours, and the administration of public affairs. You have, say they, hitherto lived swimming and floating, come now, and die in the harbour: you have given the former part of your life to the light, give what remains to the shade. It is impossible to give

* Persius, Sat. v. ver. 151, &c.

† Ibid, Sat. i. ver. 22.

‡ Epicurus and Seneca, See Seneca, Ep. xxi.

over business, if you do not quit the fruit of it: therefore disengage yourselves from all concern for fame and glory. It is to be feared, the lustre of your former actions will throw too much light upon you, and follow you into your most private retreat: quit, with other pleasures, that which proceeds from the approbation of another: and as to your knowledge and parts, never concern yourselves *, they will not lose their effect, if yourselves be ever the better for them. Remember him, who being asked, "Why he took so much pains in an art †, that could come to the knowledge of but few persons?" "A few are enough for me," replied he, "I have enough of one, I have enough of never a one." He said true, you and a companion, are theatre enough for one another ‡, or you for yourself §. Be you one to the whole people, and the whole people but one to you ||. It is an unworthy ambition for a man to think to derive glory from his sloth and privacy: you are to do like the beasts of chase ¶, who put out the track at the entrance into their den. You are no more to concern yourselves what the world says of you, but what you are to say of yourselves: retire within yourselves, but first prepare for your reception **. It were a folly to trust yourselves in your own hands, if you cannot govern yourselves ††: a man may as well miscarry alone, as in company; till you have become such persons, before whom you dare not trip, and have conceived a respect for yourselves. *Versentur species honestæ animo ‡‡*; "Let just and honest things be still represented to the mind." Present continually to your ima-

* "Cur ego, inquis, ista didici? Non est quod timeas ne operam perdideris: Tibi didicisti." Seneca, Epist. 7.

† Senec. Ep. 7. ‡ Id. Ibid. § "Satis magnum alter alteri theatrum sumus." This is what Epicurus wrote to one of his friends.

|| Seneca ascribes this saying to Democritus, Ep. 7. ¶ Seneca, Ep. 68.

** Id. ibid. †† "Prodest sine dubio custodem sibi imposuisse, et habere quem respicias, quem interesse tuis cogitationibus judices. Omnia nobis mala solitudo perfundet. Cum jam profeceris ut sit tibi etiam tui reverentia, licebit dimittas pædagogum. Interim te aliquorum auctoritate custodi. Aut Cato ille sit, aut Scipio, aut Lælius, aut cujus interventa perditique quoque homines vitia supprimerent, dum te efficis coram quo peccata non audit." Senec. Ep. 25.

‡‡ Cicero Tusc. Quæst. lib. ii. cap. 12.

gination,

gination, Cato, Phocion, and Aristides, in whose presence fools themselves would hide their faults; and make them controulers of all your intentions. Should they deviate any where, your respect to them will again set you right; they will keep you in this way of being contented with yourselves; to borrow nothing of any but from yourselves; to stop and fix your souls in certain limited thoughts, wherein they may please themselves, and having understood the true and real goods, which men the more enjoy, the more they understand them, to rest satisfied, without desire for the enjoyment or prolongation of life or fame. This is the precept of genuine philosophy, not of a boasting and prating philosophy, such as that of the two first*.

C H A P. XXXIX.

An Observation concerning Cicero, &c.

ONE word more, by way of comparison betwixt this couple. There are to be gathered out of the writings of Cicero, and this younger Pliny, (who, in my opinion, little resembles his uncle in his humour) infinite testimonies of a nature beyond measure ambitious; and amongst others, this for one, that they both, in the face of all the world, solicited the historians of their time †, not to forget them in their memoirs; and fortune, as if in spite, has transmitted the vanity of those

The ambition of Cicero and Pliny.

* Pliny the Younger, and Cicero.

† Cicero writing to Lucceius, Ep. 12. lib. v. and Pliny to Tacitus, Ep. 33. lib. vii. with this most remarkable difference, that the first earnestly desires his friend, not to attach himself scrupulously to the rules of, but boldly to leap the barriers of truth in his favour. "Te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut et ornes ea vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis et in ea leges historiæ negligas;" whereas Pliny declares expressly, that he does not desire Tacitus to give the least offence to the truth, "Quamquam non exigo ut excedas rei actæ modum. Nam nec historia debet egredi veritatem, et honeste factis veritas sufficit." One would have thought that Montaigne should, in justice to Pliny, have distinguished him from Cicero, in this particular.

requests upon record down to the present age, and has long since damned the histories.

To what end
Cicero's and
Pliny's Familiar
Epistles were
published.

But this exceeds all meanness of spirit, in persons of such quality as they were, to think to derive any great renown from babbling and prating; even by the publishing of their private letters to their friends, so that as some of them were never sent, the opportunity being lost, they nevertheless exposed them to the light, with this worthy excuse, that they were unwilling their labours, and lucubrations should be lost. Was it not very well becoming two consuls of Rome, sovereign magistrates of the republic that commanded the world, to spend their time in contriving quaint and elegant letters, thence to gain the reputation of being masters of their own mother tongue? What could a pitiful schoolmaster have done worse, who by such a knowledge gets his living?

Why Xenophon
and Cæsar wrote
their own histories.

If the acts of Xenophon and Cæsar, had not very far transcended their eloquence, I scarce believe they would ever have taken the pains to have writ them. They made it their business to recommend not their speeches, but their actions.

Terence's comedies writ by Scipio and Lælius.

And could the perfection of eloquence add any fame suitable to the age of a great person, certainly Scipio and Lælius had never resigned the honour of their comedies, with all the luxuriance and delicacy of the Latin tongue, to an African slave; for that the work was theirs, its beauty and excellence sufficiently evince; besides, Terence himself confesses as much, and I should take it ill of any one that should dispossess me of that belief.

Qualities which
are not suitable
to a man's rank
in the world,
cannot do him
honour.

It is a kind of mockery, and affront, to extol a man for qualities misbecoming his condition, though otherwise commendable in themselves; as if a man should commend a king, for being a good painter, a good architect, a good marksman, or a good runner at the ring; commendations that
add

add no honour, unless mentioned in the train of those that more properly become him, namely, his justice, and the science of governing and conducting his people both in peace and war. Thus agriculture did honour to Cyrus, and eloquence and learning to Charlemagne. I have, in my time, known some who, by a knack of writing, have got both their titles and livelihood, disown their apprentice-age, purposely corrupt their style, and affect the ignorance of so vulgar a quality (which our nation observes to be rarely seen in very learned hands) to seek a reputation by better qualities.

Demosthenes's companions in the embassy to Philip, extolling that prince for being handsome, eloquent, and a hearty toper; Demosthenes replied, "That those were commendations fitter for a woman, an advocate, a lawyer, " or a sponge, than for a king *."

Great men are not to be praised for common things.

*Imperet bellante prior, jacentem
Lenis in hostem †.*

First let his empire from his valour flow,
And then from mercy on a prostrate foe.

It is not his profession to know either how to hunt or to dance well.

*Orabunt causas alii, calique meatus
Describent radio, et fulgentia sidera dicent;
Hic regere imperio populos sciat ‡.*

Let others plead at the litigious bar,
Describe the spheres, point out each twinkling star, }
This man can rule, a greater art by far.

Plutarch says, that to appear so excellent in these less necessary qualities, is to produce witness against a man's self, that he has spent his time and applied his study ill, which ought to have been employed in things more necessary, and useful. Philip king of Ma-

Great men should not excel in things, not altogether necessary.

* Plutarch, in the Life of Demosthenes, cap. 4.
Secul. ver. 51, 52.

† Horat. Carm.

‡ Virg. Æn. lib. vi. ver. 844.

cedon, therefore, having heard that Alexander his son sang once at a feast to the wonder and envy of the best musicians there: "Art not thou ashamed," said he to him, "to sing so well *?" And to the same Philip, a musician said, with whom he was disputing about some things concerning his art: "Heaven forbid! Sir," said he, "that so great a misfortune should ever befall you, "as to understand these things better than I †!" A king should be able to answer, as Iphicrates did the orator, who pressed upon him, in his invective, after this manner, "And what art thou, that thou bravest "at this rate? Art thou a man at arms, art thou an "archer, art thou a pike-man? I am none of all this ‡; "but I know how to command all these." And Antisthenes took it for an argument, not much to the praise of Ismenias, that he was cried up for playing excellently upon the flute.

The merit of
Montaigne's
Essays.

I know, very well, that when I hear any one insist upon the language of Essays, I had rather a great deal he would say nothing. It is not so much to elevate the style, as to depress the sense; and so much the more offensively, as they do it more obliquely. Yet am I much deceived, if many other essayists enter farther into the matter, and how well or ill soever, if any other writer has scattered things more material, or at least bolder, upon paper than myself. To make them the more regular, I only muster up the heads; should I annex the sequel, I should strangely enlarge this volume: and how many stories have I scattered up and down in this book, that I only touch upon, which should any one more curiously search into, they would find matter enough to produce infinite essays: neither those stories, nor my allegations always serve simply for example, authority, or ornament; I do not regard them only for the use I make of them: they often carry, besides what I apply them to, the seed of a

* Plutarch, in the Life of Pericles, cap. 1. † In a tract of Plutarch, how to distinguish the flatterer from the friend, cap. 25.

‡ Plutarch, in his Treatise of Fortune.

more rich and a bolder matter, and sometimes contrary-wise a more delicate sound both to myself, who will express no more of it in this place, and to others who shall happen to be of my taste. But to return to the talent of speaking; I find no great choice betwixt not knowing to speak any thing but very ill, and not knowing any thing but speaking well. *Non est ornamentum virile concinnitas* *. “Neatness of style, is no manly ornament.” The sages tell us, that as to what concerns knowledge, there is nothing but philosophy; and as to what concerns effects, nothing but virtue, that is generally proper to all degrees, and to all orders.

There is something like this in these two other philosophers, for they also promise eternity to the letters which they write to their friends; but it is after another manner, and by accommodating themselves, for a good end, to the vanity of another; for they write to them, that if the concern of making themselves known to future ages, and the thirst of glory, yet detain them in the management of public affairs, and make them fear the solitude, and retirement to which they would persuade them; let them never trouble themselves more about it †, forasmuch as they shall have credit enough with posterity to assure them, that were there nothing else but the very letters thus writ to them, those letters will render their names as famous as their own public actions could do. And besides this difference, these are not frothy and empty letters, that have nothing but well chosen words, in a proper cadence, to support them, but rather replete and abounding with fine lessons of wisdom by which a man may render himself not more elo-

Epicurus and Seneca, set in opposition to Pliny and Cicero.

* Sen. Ep. 95.

† When Epicurus wrote to Idomeneus, then the slave of rigid power, and who had great affairs in his hands, to persuade him from a gay life, to the pursuit of true and solid glory, “If, said he, you are fond of glory, my epistles will make you more celebrated than all things that you admire, and for which you are admired.” Seneca, (Ep. 21.) who in the same epistle, says to his friend Lucilius, “The very thing which Epicurus, could promise to his friend, I promise to you, Lucilius, I shall be in the favour of posterity: it is in my power to bring out names that shall be lasting.”

quent, but more wise ; and that instruct us not to speak but to do well : away with that eloquence which so enchants us with its harmony, that we would study it more than things ; unless you think that of Cicero so perfect, as to form a complete body of itself.

Cicero very fond
of eloquence.

And of him, I shall add one story more, which we read of him to this purpose, whereby we shall be let fully into his temper. He was to make an oration in public, and found himself a little straitened in time, to fit his words to please him, when Eros *, one of his slaves, brought him word that the audience was deferred till the next day, at which he was so ravished with joy, that he enfranchised him for the good news.

Montaigne's genius for the
epistolary style.

To what has been already said on the subject of letters, let me add, that it is a kind of writing, wherein my friends think I can do something †; and I should rather have chose to publish my whimsies in that, than any other form, did I know to whom to write ; but I wanted such a settled correspondence as I once had, to attract me to it, to raise my fancy, and to support me. For to traffick with the wind, as some others have done, and to forge vain names to correspond with, on a serious subject, I could never do it but in a dream, being a sworn enemy to all manner of fiction : I would have been more diligent, and more confidently secure, had I had a hearty friend, to whom to address, than to consider the different aspects of a whole people, and I am deceived if I had not succeeded better. I have naturally a comic and familiar style ; but it is a peculiar one, and not proper for public business, my language being in all respects, too compact, irregular, abrupt, and singular ; and as to letters of ceremony, that have no other substance than a fine chain of courteous words, I am wholly to seek ; I have neither faculty, nor relish, for

* Plutarch, in his notable sayings of kings, &c. in the article of Cicero.

† I have met with eight letters from Montaigne, wherewith I shall enrich this edition, that may give some idea of what he here says.

those tedious offers of service and affection; I have not so much faith in them, and would not forgive myself, should I offer more than I intend, which is very different from the present practice; for there never was so abject and servile prostitutions of tenders of life, soul, devotion, adoration, vassal, slave, and I cannot tell what, as now; when such expressions are so commonly, and so indifferently bandied to and fro by every one, and to every one, that when they would profess a stronger and more respectful inclination they have not wherewithal to express it. I mortally hate all air of flattery, whence I naturally fall into a dry, rough, and crude way of speaking, which to such as do not know me, may savour a little of disdain: I honour those most to whom I pay the least; and when my soul is chearful, I forget all ceremony. Methinks they should read it in my heart, and that my expression injures my conception. To bid welcome, take leave, give thanks, salute, offer my service, and such verbal formalities, as the ceremonious laws of our civility enjoin, I know no man so stupidly unprovided of language as myself: and have never been employed in writing letters of favour, and recommendation, but he for whom I wrote thought them cold and flat. The Italians are great printers of letters. I do believe I have a hundred volumes of them; of all of which, those of Hannibal Caro, seem to me to be the best. If all the paper I have formerly staid to the ladies, when my hand was really prompted by love, was now in being, there might perhaps be found a page worthy to be communicated to our young enamorates, who are intoxicated with that passion.

Montaigne's aversion to the extravagant compliments in letters.

His unsuitness to write letters of recommendation.

I always write my letters in post haste, so that though mine is an intolerable bad hand, I rather chuse to write myself, than to employ another; for I can find none able to write fast enough for my dictating, and I never transcribe any. I have accustomed the great ones that know

The hurry in which Montaigne wrote.

me to put up with my blots and dashes, and upon paper without fold or margin. Those letters that cost me the most pains, are the worst; when I drag the matter in, it is a sign that I am not there. I fall to without premeditation or design; the first paragraph begets the second, and so on. The letters of this age consist more in margin, and prefaces, than matter; I had rather write two letters, than close and fold up one, and always assign that employment to some other; so also, when the business is dispatched, I would, with all my heart, commission another hand, to add those long harangues, offers, and prayers that we place at the bottom, and would be glad that some new custom discharged us of that unnecessary trouble; as also that of superscribing them with a train of qualities, and titles, which, for fear of mistakes, I have often omitted writing, and especially to men of the law and the revenue. So many are the innovations of offices, and so hard it is to place so many titles of honour in their proper and due order, which being dearly bought, they cannot be changed, nor omitted without offence. I find the same fault likewise in charging the title-pages and inscriptions, of the books we commit to the press, with such a clutter of titles.

C H A P. XL.

That the relish of good and evil depends in a great measure, upon the opinion we have of either.

The basis of our opinion of good and evil.

MEN (says an ancient Greek sentence) are tormented with the opinions they have of things, and not by the things themselves. It were a great point carried for the relief of our miserable human condition, could the truth of this proposition be established. For if evils have no admission into us but by the judgment we ourselves make of them, it should seem that it is in our own power to despise them, or to turn them to good. If things surrender to our mercy, why do we not manage and

and accommodate them to our advantage? If what we call evil and torment, is neither evil nor torment of itself, but only our fancy gives it that quality, and makes it so, it is in our power to change it; and it being in our own choice, if there be no constraint upon us, we are strange fools, to take part with that side which is most disgusting to us, and to give sickness, want, and contempt, a sour nauseous taste, if it be in our power to give them a more grateful relish, and if fortune simply provide the matter it is for us to give it the form.

Now that what we call evil, is not so of itself, or at least, be it what it will, that it depends upon us to give it another taste or complexion, (which amounts to the same thing), let us examine how this can be maintained. If the original being of those things we fear, could lodge itself in us, by its own authority, it would lodge in a like manner in all; for men are universally of the same nature, and, saving in greater or less proportions, are all provided with the same tools and instruments to conceive and to judge; but the diversity of opinions we have of those things, shews clearly that they only enter us by composition: one person, perhaps, admits them in their true state; but a thousand others give them a new, and contrary being in their breast.

What evil is,
and how it con-
cerns us.

We hold death, poverty, and pain, for our principal enemies; but this death which some repute the most dreadful of all dreadful things, who knows not that others call it the only secure harbour from the tempests of life? the sovereign good of nature? the sole support of our liberty, and the common and ready remedy of all evils? And as the one expect it with fear and trembling, the other support it with greater ease than life. That blade complains of its facility,

The different
ideas of death.

*Mors utinam pavidos vitâ subducere nolles,
Sed virtus te sola daret **:

O death! I wish thou wouldst the coward spare,
That of thy gifts the brave alone might share.

But let us leave this boasted courage. Theodorus answered Lyfimachus, who threatened to kill him, "Thou wilt do a brave feat," said he, "to shew thou hast the force of a cantharides *." The greatest part of philosophers are observed to have either purposely prevented, or hastened and assisted their own death. How many common people do we see led to execution, and to a death mixed also with shame, and sometimes with grievous torments, appear with such assurance, what through obstinacy, or natural simplicity, that a man can discover no change from their ordinary state of mind; settling their domestic affairs, recommending themselves to their friends, singing, preaching, and entertaining the people so much, as sometimes to sally into jests, and to drink to their companions, as did Socrates!

Merry jokes of
some persons led
to execution.

One who was leading to the gallows, told them they must not carry him thro' such a street, lest a merchant, that lived there, should arrest him by the way for an old debt. Another said to the hangman, he must not touch his neck, for fear of making him laugh outright, he was so ticklish. Another answered his confessor, who promised him that he should that day sup with our Lord, Do you go then, said he, in my room; for I, for my part, keep fast to day. Another having called for drink, and the hangman having drank first, said he would not drink after him, for fear of catching the pox. Every body has heard the tale of the Picard, to whom, being upon the ladder, they presented a whore, telling him (as our law sometimes permits) that if he would marry her, they would save his life; he having a while viewed her, and perceiving that she halted, "Come, tye up, tye up," said he, "she limps." And they tell, also, of a fellow in Denmark, who being condemned to lose his head, and the like condition being proposed to him upon the scaffold, refused it, by reason the maid they offered him, had hollow cheeks, and too sharp a nose. A servant at Thoulouse, being accused of heresy, said only, that he believed as his master did, who was a young student pri-

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 40.

soner with him, and he chose rather to die, than suffer himself to be persuaded that his master could err. We read, that when Lewis XI. took Arras, a great many of the inhabitants suffered themselves to be hanged, rather than say, God save the king.

And amongst that mean-souled race of men, the buffoons, there have been some, who would not leave their fooling at the very moment of death. One whom the hangman turned off the ladder, cried, "Launch the galley!" an ordinary saying of his. Another, who was laid upon a bed of straw, by a fire in which he was to be burnt, being asked by the physician, where his pain lay, "Betwixt the bench and the fire," said he; and the priest to give him the extreme unction, groping for his feet, which pain had made him draw up, "You will find them," said he, "at the end of my legs." To one that exhorted him to recommend himself to God, "Who is going to him?" said he: and the other replying, "It will presently be yourself, if it be his good pleasure:" "Would I were sure to be there to-morrow night," said he; "Do but recommend yourself to him," said the other, "and you will soon be there:" "I had best then," added he, "to carry my recommendations myself."

Buffoons that died with a joke in their mouths.

In the kingdom of Narfingua, to this day, the wives of their priests are buried alive with the bodies of their husbands. All other wives are burnt at their husbands funerals, which also they not only constantly, but chearfully undergo *. At the death of their king, his wives and concubines, his favourites, all his officers, and domestic servants, which make up a great number of people, present themselves so chearfully to the fire, where his body is burnt, that they seem

Women that bury or burn themselves alive with the dead bodies of their husbands.

* In the Indies, says Cicero, where it is the custom for a man to have several wives, when the husband dies, the women dispute who was his greatest favourite; and she who carries the question, is overjoyed, and burnt on the same pile with her husband. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 27. The same custom was observed by a people of Thrace, according to Herodotus, lib. v. p. 331, and is still kept up in Indostan.

to take it for a great honour, to accompany their master in death.

Death fondly
coveted.

During our late war of Milan, where there happened so many takings and retakings of towns, the people, impatient of so many various changes of fortune, took such a resolution to die, that I have heard my father say, he there saw a list taken of twenty-five masters of families, that made away with themselves in one week's time : an accident somewhat resembling that of the Xanthians, who being besieged by Brutus, contracted, men, women, and children, such a furious desire of dying, that nothing can be done to escape death, which they did not put in practice to avoid life ; insomuch, that Brutus had much ado to save but a very small number *.

Opinions espoused
at the ex-
pence of life.

Every opinion is of force enough to make itself to be espoused at the expence of life. The first article of that valiant oath, which Greece took and observed in the Median war, was, that every one should sooner exchange life for death, than their own laws for those of Persia. What a world of people do we see, in the wars betwixt the Turks and the Greeks, rather embrace a cruel death, than renounce circumcision for baptism ? An example of which no sort of religion is incapable.

Jews cruelly
treated by the
Portuguese to
make them
change their re-
ligion.

The kings of Castile, having banished the Jews out of their dominions, John, king of Portugal, in consideration of eight crowns a-head, afforded them an asylum in his, for a limited time ; upon condition that when it expired they should depart ; and he was to furnish them with shipping, to transport them to Africa. The day being elapsed, they were given to understand, that such as did not obey should remain slaves : the vessels were very slenderly provided, and those who embarked in them were rudely and villainously used by the seamen, who, besides other indignities, kept them cruising upon the sea, forwards and back,

* Fifty only, who were saved against their will. Plutarch, in the Life of Marcus Brutus, ch. 8.

wards, till they had spent all their provisions, and were constrained to buy of them at so dear rates, and for so long a time, that they set them not on shore till they were all stripped to their very shirts. The news of this inhuman usage, being brought to those who remained behind, the greater part of them resolved upon slavery, and some made a shew of changing their religion. Emanuel, the successor of John, being come to the crown, first set them at liberty; but afterwards altering his mind, ordered them to quit his country, assigning three ports for their passage. He hoped (says the bishop of Osorius, no contemptible Latin historian of our times) that though the favour of the liberty he had restored to them, failed of converting them to Christianity, yet their aversion to expose themselves to the mercy of the mariners, to abandon a country they were now habituated to, and grown very rich in, and to expose themselves in strange and unknown regions, would certainly produce the desired effect: but finding himself deceived in his expectation, and that they were all resolved upon the voyage, he cut off two of the ports he had promised them, to the end that the length and troublesomeness of the passage, might reduce some; or that he might have opportunity, by crowding them into one place, the more conveniently to execute what he had designed; * which was to force all the children, under fourteen years of age, from the arms of their parents, to trans-

* Mariana, the celebrated Jesuit, says, in his *History of Spain*, printed at Mentz, tom. II. lib. xxvi. cap. 13.) that by an edict of this prince, those children were baptised by force; a cruel edict, says the good Jesuit, altogether contrary to the Christian laws and institutes. What, he adds, shall violence be used to force men to embrace Christianity, and in the most important affair of the world, to rob those whom God has been pleased to leave to their own discretion, of that heavenly present, LIBERTY! to proceed so far, is a horrible crime, as well as to force children with this view from the arms of their parents. The Portuguese nation, however, committed sin in these two points, having dragged the children to baptism by force, and without the consent of their parents, and having engaged those more advanced in years to make profession of Christianity, by loading them with reproaches and injuries, and especially by fraudulently depriving them of the means of retiring elsewhere, which they had expressly obliged themselves to grant them.

port them from their sight and conversation, to a place where they might be instructed in our religion.

Jews that out of zeal for their religion, killed themselves and children.

He says, that this produced a horrid spectacle: the natural affection betwixt the parents and their children, and more-over their zeal for their ancient belief, contending against this violent decree, fathers and mothers were commonly seen making away with themselves; and what was yet worse, precipitating their young children, out of love and compassion, into wells, to avoid the severity of this law. As to the remainder of them, the time that had been fixed being expired, for want of means to transport them, they returned into slavery. Some turned Christians, upon whose faith, or that of their posterity, even to this day, which is an hundred years since, few Portuguese rely, or believe them to be real converts; though custom, and length of time, are much more powerful counselors for such changes, than all constraints whatever.

Albigenses heretics chose rather to be burnt than recant their opinions.

In the town of Castlenau-Darry, fifty heretics, Albigenses, courageously suffered themselves to be burnt alive in one fire, rather than renounce their opinions.

Quoties non modo ductores nostri, dicit Cicero, sed universi etiam exercitus, ad non dubiam mortem concurrerunt? "How often have not only our leaders, but whole armies, run to certain death?"

Death eagerly coveted.

I have seen an intimate friend of mine run eagerly upon death, with a real affection that was rooted in his heart by divers plausible arguments, which I could not dispossess him of, who upon the first occasion that he could do it with an appearance of honour, rushed into it without any visible reason, with an obstinate and ardent desire of dying. We have several examples, in our own times, of persons, even children, who for fear of some little chastisement, have dispatched themselves. And, what shall we not fear (says one of the ancients to this purpose), if we dread that which cowardice itself has chosen for its refuge? Should I here produce a long list of those

of

of all sexes and conditions, and of all sects, even in the most happy ages, who have either with great constancy looked death in the face, or voluntarily sought it; and sought it not only to avoid the evils of this life, but some, purely to avoid the satiety of living; and others, for the hope of a better condition elsewhere, I should never have done. Nay, the number is so infinite, that in truth, I should with more ease reckon up those who have feared it. This one therefore shall serve for all; Pyrrho, the philosopher, being one day in a boat, in a very great tempest, singled out those he saw the most affrighted about him, and encouraged them by the example of a hog, that was there, nothing at all concerned at the storm*.

Shall we then dare to say, that this advantage of reason, of which we so much boast, and upon the account of which we think ourselves masters and emperors over all other creatures, was given us for our torment? To what end serves the knowledge of things, if it renders us more unmanly? If we lose the tranquillity and repose we should enjoy without it, and if it put us into a worse condition than Pyrrho's hog; shall we employ the understanding that was conferred upon us for our greatest good, to our own ruin, setting ourselves against the design of nature, and the universal order of things, which require that every one should make use of the faculties, and means he has, to his own advantage? Your rule is true enough, says one, as to what concerns death; but what will you say of necessity? What will you moreover say of pain, which Aristippus, Hieronymus, and almost all the wise men, have reputed the worst of evils? And those who have denied it by word of mouth, have however confessed it in actions. Possidonius being extremely tormented with a sharp and painful disease, Pompey came to visit him, excusing himself that he had taken so unseasonable a time to come to hear him discourse of philosophy;

To what use the knowledge of things should be applied.

* Diog. Laert. in the Life of Pyrrho, lib. ix. sect. 68.

* God forbid, said Possidonius to him, that pain should ever have the power to hinder me from talking, and thereupon fell immediately upon this same topic, the contempt of pain : but, in the mean time, his own infirmity was playing its part, and plagued him incessantly; on which he cried out, Thou may'st do thy worst, pain †; but thou shalt never make me say, that thou art an evil. This story about which they make such a clutter, what is there in it, I fain would know, to the contempt of pain? It only fights it with words, and in the mean time, if the shootings he felt did not move him, why did he interrupt his discourse? Why did he fancy he did so great a thing, in forbearing to confess it an evil? All does not here consist in the imagination; our fancies may work upon other things: but this is an object of which our senses themselves are judges:

Qui nisi sunt veri, ratio quoque falsa fit omnis †.

Which if not true, ev'n reason must be false.

Shall we persuade our skins, that the lashes of a whip tickle us; or our taste, that a portion of aloes is Graves wine. Pyrrho's hog is here in the same case with us; he is not afraid of death, it is true, but if you beat him, he will cry out to some purpose: shall we counteract the general law of nature, which in every living creature under heaven, is seen to tremble under pain? The very trees seem to groan under injuries. Death is only felt by reason, forasmuch as it is the motion of an instant.

*Aut fuit, aut veniet, nihil est præsentis in illa,
Morsque minus pænæ, quam mora mortis habet §.*

Still past or future, here no present tense
Submits the fleeting object to our sense;
Death cuts so quick the thread of life in twain,
The thought is far more dreadful than the pain.

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iv. cap. 25.

† Id. ibid.

‡ Lucret. lib. iv. ver. 487.

§ The first verse of this distich is taken from a satirical composition which Montaigne's friend, Stephen de la Boetius, addressed to him, and of which I quoted the beginning in ch. 27, Of Friendship. The second is from Ovid's Epistle, Ariadne to Theseus, ver. 84.

A thousand beasts, a thousand men, are sooner dead than threatened. That also which we principally pretend to fear in death is pain, the ordinary fore-runner of it : yet, if we may believe a holy father *, *Malam mortem non facit, nisi quod sequitur mortem.* “ Nothing makes death evil, but what follows it.” And I should yet say more probably, that neither that which goes before, nor that which follows after, is an appurtenance of death : we accuse ourselves falsely. I find by experience, that it is rather the uneasiness of the imagination of death, that makes us impatient of pain ; and that we find it doubly grievous, as it threatens us with death. But reason accusing our cowardice, for fearing a thing so sudden, so inevitable, and so insensible, we admit this other as the more excusable pretence. All ills that carry no other danger along with them, but simply the evils themselves, we treat as things of no danger. The tooth-ach, or the gout, however painful, yet not being reputed mortal, who reckons them in the catalogue of diseases ?

But let us suppose, that in death we principally regard the pain ; as also, there is nothing to be feared in poverty, but that it throws us into its arms by thirst, hunger, cold, heat, watching, &c. which it makes us suffer, and consequently we have nothing to do with pain. I will grant, and very willingly, that it is the worst accident of our being : for I am that man who the most hates and avoids it, considering that, hitherto, I thank God, I have had so little share of it ; but it is in our power, if not to annihilate, at least to lessen it by patience, and though the body should mutiny to maintain the soul and reason, nevertheless, in a good temper. Were it not so, who had ever given reputation to virtue, valour, strength, magnanimity, and resolution ? wherein were their parts to be played, if there were no pain to be defied ? † *Avida est periculi virtus.* “ Valour is greedy of danger.” Were there no

Pain the worst accident of our being, how it may be mitigated.

* August. de Civitate Dei, lib. i. cap. 11.

† Seneca.

lying upon the hard ground, no enduring, armed at all points, the noon-day heats, no feeding upon the flesh of horses and asses, no seeing a man's self hacked to pieces, no suffering a bullet to be pulled out from amongst the bones, nor the stitching up, cauterising, and searching of wounds, by what means were the advantage we covet to have over the vulgar to be acquired? It is far from flying evil and pain, what the sages say, that, of actions equally good, a man should most wish to perform that wherein there is great labour. *Non est enim hilaritate, nec lascivia, nec risu, aut joco comite levitatis, sed sæpe etiam tristes firmitate, et constantia sunt beati* *. “Men are not happy by mirth and wantonness, nor by laughter or jesting, the companion of levity; but the graver sort are often so from their steadiness and constancy.” And for this reason, it has ever been impossible to persuade our fore-fathers, that the victories obtained by dint of force, and the hazard of war, were not more honourable, than those performed in great security, by wiles and stratagems.

Lætiùs est, quoties magno sibi constat honestum †.

Splendid achievements more august appear,
By how much more they cost the doer dear.

Besides, this ought to be our comfort, that naturally, if the pain be violent, it is of short duration; and if long, it is moderate, *Si gravis; brevis, si longus, levis* ‡. Thou wilt not feel it long, if thou feelest it too much; it will soon either put an end to itself, or to thee: if thou can'st not support it, it will export thee. *Memineris maximos morte finire; parvos multa habere intervalla requietis: Mediocrimum nos esse dominos: ut si tolerabiles sint, feramus; sin minus, è vita, quam ea non placeat tanquam è theatro excamus* ||. “Remember, that great pains are terminated by death, small ones have many intermissions of repose, and that we are masters of the moderate sort: so that, if tolerable, we may bear them;

* Cicero de Finib. lib. ii. cap. 20.

† Luc. lib. ix. ver. 404.

‡ Cicero de Finib. lib. ii. cap. 29.

|| Cicero de Finib. lib. i. cap. 15.

“ if not, we can go out of life as from a theatre, where the entertainment does not please us.” That which renders us so impatient of pain, is the not being accustomed to place our chief contentment in the mind, the sole and sovereign mistress of our condition. The body, having in greater or less proportion, has but one and the same course and bias; whereas the soul is extremely variable, and subjects to herself, and to her own condition, be it what it will, the sensations of the body, and all other accidents. We ought, therefore, to study her, to enquire into her strength, and to rouse up her most powerful faculties. There is no reason, prescription nor force, that can prevail against her inclination and choice. Of so many thousands of biases that she has at her disposal, let us give her one proper to our repose and preservation; and then we shall not only be sheltered from all manner of offence, but, moreover, gratified and obliged, if we like it, with evils and injuries. She makes her profit indifferently of all things. Errors and dreams serve her to good use, as a lawful matter to lodge us in safety and contentment. It is plain enough that the state of our mind is what gives the edge to our pains and pleasures. Beasts, that have no soul, leave to their own bodies their own free and natural sensations, which, consequently, are in every kind nearly the same, as appears by the similitude of their motions. If we did not disturb, in our members, the jurisdiction that appertains to them in this respect, it would probably be the better for us. Nature has given them a just and moderate temper, both to pleasure and pain; neither can it fail of being just, as it is equal and common. But since we have renounced the rules of nature, to give ourselves up to the rambling liberty of our own fancies, let us at least help to bend them to the most agreeable side. Plato fears our too vehement engagement in pain and pleasure, forasmuch as it too much binds and knits the soul to the body: whereas I am of a quite contrary opinion, and think that it separates and disunites them. As an enemy is made more eager by our flight, so pain

grows fiercest when we tremble under it. It will surrender upon much better terms to them who make head against it; a man must oppose, and stoutly set himself against it. In retiring and giving ground, we invite and draw upon ourselves the ruin that threatens us. As the body is more firm in an encounter, the more stiffly it sets itself to it; so is it with the soul. But let us come to examples, which are the proper commodity for fellows of such feeble reins as myself; where we shall find, that it is with pain, as with stones, which receive a more sprightly, or a fainter lustre, according to the soil they are set in, and that it has no more room in us, than we are pleased to allow it. *Tantum doluerunt, quantum doloribus se inseruerant* *. “So far as they gave way to pain, so far it took advantage of them.” We are more sensible of one little prick of a surgeon’s lancet, than of twenty wounds with a sword in the heat of battle.

The pains of child-bearing supported with ease.

As for the pain of child-bearing, said by the physicians and by God himself, to be great, and which we make so great a clutter about, there are whole nations that make nothing of it. To say nothing of the Lacedæmonian women, what alteration can you see in the wives of our Swiss foot-soldiers, except that when they trot after their husbands, you see them to-day with the child hanging at their backs, that they carried yesterday in their bellies? and the gipsies wash their brats so soon as they come into the world, in the first river they meet.

Remarkable instance to this purpose of a Roman lady.

Besides the many whores who daily steal their children out of their womb, as before they stole them in,—that fair and noble wife of Sabinus, a patrician of Rome †, for another person’s sake without help, without crying out, or so much as a groan, bore the delivery of twins.

* Aug. de Civit. Dei.

† A very curious history is this, which you will find at large in Plutarch’s treatise of love, ch. 34.

A poor simple boy of Lacedæmon having stole a fox, (for they more fear the shame of their folly in stealing, than we do the punishment of our knavery,) and having got him under his coat *, rather suffered it to tear out his bowels, than he would discover his theft. Another, offering incense at sacrifice, suffered himself to be burnt to the bone, by a coal that fell in his sleeve, rather than disturb the ceremony. And there have been a great number, who only for a trial of their virtue, according to their institutions, have, at seven years old, endured to be whipt to death, without changing their countenance. Cicero has seen them fight in parties, with fists, feet, and teeth, till they fainted and sunk down rather than confess themselves overcome. Custom would never conquer nature, for she is ever invincible, but we have poisoned the mind with shadow, delights, wantonness, negligence and sloth †; and with vain opinions, and corrupt manners, render it effeminate mean.

The constancy of the Lacedæmonian children.

Every one knows the story of Scævola, that having slipped into the enemy's camp to kill their general, and missed his blow, in order to repair his fault, and deliver his country, he not only confessed his design to Porfenna, the king, whom he had purposed to kill; but added, "That there were
" then in his camp a great number of Romans, his accomplices in the enterprize, as good men as he;" and, to shew his fortitude, causing a pan of burning coals to be brought, he suffered his arm to broil upon them, till the king, conceiving horror at the sight, commanded the fire-pan to be taken away. What would you say of him, that would not suspend reading in a book, whilst he was under an incision ‡? and of another that persisted to mock and laugh, in contempt of the pains inflicted upon him ||; so that the enraged cruelty of

And of Mucius Scævola.

* Plutarch. in the life of Lycurgus, cap. 14.

† Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 17.

‡ Senec. Ep. 78.

|| If I am not mistaken Anaxarchus is meant whom Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus, caused to be torn to pieces without being able to conquer his constancy. Diog. Laert. in the life of Anaxarchus, lib. ix. sect. 58, 59.

his executioners, and all the inventions of tortures redoubled upon him, one after another, were spent in vain : But he was a philosopher. What, would you say of one of Cæsar's Gladiators, who laughed all the while that his wounds were probed and laid open ? *Quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit ? Quis vultum mutavit unquam ? Quis non modo stetit, verum etiam decubuit turpiter ? Quis cum decubuisset, ferrum recipere jussus, collum contraxit * ?* " What mean fencer ever so much as gave a groan ? " which of them ever so much as changed his countenance ? which of them, standing or falling, did either with shame ? which of them, when he was down, and commanded to receive the stroke of the sword, ever shrunk in his neck ? " Let us mention the women too. Who has not heard at Paris of her that caused her face to be flea'd, only for the fresher complection of a new skin ? There are some who have drawn good and sound teeth, for the sake of lisping with delicacy, or to set them in better order. How many examples of the contempt of pain have we in that sex ? what can they not do ? what do they fear to do, for ever so little hopes of an addition to their beauty ?

*Vellere quis cura est albos à stirpe capillos,
Et faciem dempta pelle referre novam †.*

Who, by the roots, pluck their grey hairs, and try,
With a new skin an old face to supply.

I have seen some of them swallow sand, ashes, and do their utmost to spoil their stomachs, to get pale complexions. To get a slender waist, what racks will they not endure of girding and cramping their sides with stiff boddice ‡, till they have notches in their ribs, that

* Cicero Tusc. Quest. lib. ii. cap. 17.

† Tib. lib. i. eleg. 9. ver. 45, 46.

‡ These boddice being pressed very tight to the sides by girdles, rendered the flesh there benumbed as it were, and as hard as the horny or callous part of the hands of certain labourers. The ladies who exposed themselves to this raking torture, when it was the fashion, laughed at their own folly afterwards, though it is not unlikely that they would be all as ready to make another sacrifice of their ease to their shape, was the fashion to be revived.

sometimes are indented into the quick flesh, and prove mortal? It is an ordinary thing with several nations, at this day, to wound themselves in good earnest, to gain credit to what they declare. Of which our king relates notable examples of what he has seen in Poland, and what was done in respect to himself *. But besides what I know to have been done of this kind by some in France, when I came from that famous assembly of the estates at Blois, I had a little before seen a maid in Picardy, who, to manifest the ardour of her promises, as also her constancy, gave herself, with a bodkin she wore in her hair, four or fives stabs into the arm, till the blood gushed out. The Turks scarify themselves much in honour of their mistresses, and to the end that the scar may the longer remain, they presently clap fire to the wound, where they hold it an incredible time to stop the blood, and form the mark; people that have been eye-witnesses of the fact, have both written of this to me, and sworn to the truth of it. Yea, for ten aspers, there are fellows to be found every day, that will give themselves a good deep slash in the arm or thighs. I am willing, however, to have the testimonies nearest to us, when we have most need of them; for Christendom furnishes us with enough. After the example of our blessed Guide, there have been many who in devotion bear the cross. We are informed upon good authority, that the king St. Lewis † wore a hair-shirt, till in his old age his confessor gave him a dispensation to leave it off; and that every Friday he caused his shoulders to be drubbed by his priest, with five small chains of iron, which were always carried about amongst his night-accountrements for that purpose. William our last duke of Guienne, the father of Eleanor who trans-

* M. de Thou says expressly, that when this prince came away privately from Poland, the great chamberlain of the kingdom, who followed, and, with much ado overtook him on the frontier of Austria, having in vain persuaded him to return back to Poland, quitted him at last, after having promised inviolable fidelity to him, by piercing his arm with a dagger, and then sucking the blood, to the great astonishment of the king, to whom he meant thereby, to testify his devotion. Thou's Hist. lib. lviii. at the year, 1574.

† Vainville's *Memoirs*, tom. ii. 54, 55.

mitted this duchy into the families of France and England, continually, for ten or twelve years before he died, wore a suit of armour under a religious habit, by way of penance. Fulk, count of Anjou, went as far as Jerusalem, there to cause himself to be whipt by two of his servants with a rope about his neck, before the sepulchre of our Lord : nay, do we not moreover every Good-Friday, in several places see great numbers of men and women, beat and whip themselves till they lacerate and cut the flesh to the very bones ? I have often seen this, and without enchantment. And they say (for they go disguised) that some for money undertook, by this means, to vouch for the religion of others, by a contempt of pain, so much the greater, as the incentives of devotion are more powerful than those of avarice. Q. Maximus buried his son *, when he was consul, M. Cato his, when prætor elect ; and L. Paulus both his, within a few days one after another, with a composed countenance which expressed no manner of grief. I said once of a certain person, by way of jest, that he had disappointed the divine justice : for, an account of the violent death of three children of his, grown up, being sent him in one day, for a severe scourge, as it is to be supposed, he almost took it for a particular grace and favour of heaven. I do not follow these monstrous humours, tho' I lost two or three at nurse, if not without regret, at least without repining ; and yet there is hardly an accident that pierces men more to the quick. I see a great many other occasions of sorrow that, should they happen to me, I would hardly feel ; and have despised some when they have befallen me, to which the world has given so terrible a figure, that I should blush to boast of my constancy. *Ex quo intelligitur, non in natura, sed in opinione esse ægritudinem* †. “ By which it is understood, that the grievance is not in nature, but opinion.” Opinion is a powerful party, bold, and immoderate. Did ever any so earnestly hunt after security and repose, as Alexan-

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. iii. cap. 28.

† Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 28.

der and Cæsar did after disturbances and difficulties? Terez, the father of Sitalces king of Thrace*, was wont to say, that when he had † no wars, he fancied there was no difference betwixt him and his groom. Cato the consul, to secure some cities of Spain from revolt, only interdicting the inhabitants of them from wearing arms, a great many killed themselves: *Ferox gens, nullam vitam rati sine armis esse* ‡. “A fierce people, who thought there was no life without a war.” How many do we know, who have forsaken the calms and sweetness of a quiet life at home, amongst their acquaintance, to seek out the horror of uninhabitable deserts; and having precipitated themselves into so abject a condition, as to become the scorn and contempt of the world, have hugged themselves with the conceit, even to affectation?

Cardinal Borromeo, who died lately at Milan, in the midst of all the jollity that the air of Italy, his youth, noble birth, and great riches invited him to, lived in so austere a manner, that the same robe he wore in summer, served him for winter too; his bed was only straw, and the hours of vacancy from his functions, he continually spent in study, upon his knees, having a little bread and water set by his book, which was his whole repast, and all the time he spent in eating.

Austere life of Cardinal Borromeo.

I know some who, for profit and advancement, have consented to cuckoldom, of which the bare name only affrights so many people. If the sight be not the most necessary of all our senses, it is at least the most pleasant: but the most pleasant and most useful of all our members, seem to be those of generation, and yet a great many have conceived a mortal hatred against them, merely for their being too amiable; and have deprived themselves of them, only for the sake of their value. As much thought he of his eyes, who put

Fatal accidents supported by some persons without grief.

* Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. cap. 15. † Plutarch, in the notable sayings of the antient kings, princes, and generals. ‡ Tit. Liv. lib. xxxiv, cap. 17.

them out. The generality, and more solid sort of men, think it a great blessing to have many children : I and some others, think it as happy to be without them. And when Thales was asked why he did not marry, he answered, " because he had no mind to leave any issue behind him *". That our opinion gives the value to things, is very manifest in a great many of these which we do not so much regard for themselves, as on our own account, and never consider, either their virtues, or their use ; but only how dear they cost us : as though that were a part of their substance : and we only repute for value in them, not what they bring to us, but what we add to them. By which I understand, that we are managers of our expence. As it weighs, it serves for so much as it weighs ; our opinion will never suffer it to want of its value. The price gives value to the diamond, difficulty to virtue, suffering to devotion, and griping to physic. A certain person, to be poor, threw his crowns into the same sea, to which so many came from all parts of the world to fish for riches.

Avarice, what it springs from. Epicurus says †, that to be rich, is no relief from, but only an alteration of misery. In plain truth, there is no want, but rather abundance that creates avarice. Neither will I stick to deliver my own experience concerning this affair. I have since my childhood lived in three sorts of conditions ; the first, which continued near twenty years, I past over without any other means, but what were accidental, and depending upon the allowance and assistance of others, without stint or certain revenue. I then spent my money so much the more chearfully, and with so much the less care how it went, as it wholly depended upon my over-confidence of fortune. I never lived more at my ease, I never found the purse of any of my friends shut against me, having laid down to myself this rule, by no means to fail of payment at the appointed

* Diog. Laertius, in the life of Thales, lib. i. sect. 26. Thales's answer admits of two very different constructions, according to the different readings of this passage. Whether Montaigne's be right or wrong, is not my business to determine here.

† Seneca Ep. 17.

time, which also they have a thousand times respited, seeing how careful I was to satisfy them ; so that I practised at once a thrifty, and withal, a kind of alluring honesty. I naturally felt a kind of pleasure in paying, as if I eased my shoulders of a troublesome weight, and from an image of slavery ; besides that I felt a ravishing kind of satisfaction, by doing a just action, and pleasing another. I except those payments, where the trouble of reckoning and bargaining are required ; for if I can meet with no body to ease me of that burden, I avoid them, how scandalously and injuriously soever, all I possibly can, for fear of those little wrangling disputes, with which both my humour and way of speaking, are totally incompatible. There is nothing I hate so much, as driving a bargain ; it is a mere traffick of cozenage and impudence ; where, after an hour's debate and haggling, both parties abandon their words and oaths, for five sols profit or abatement. And yet I borrowed at great disadvantage ; for, wanting the confidence to speak to the person myself, I ventured my request on paper, which makes but a weak, if any effort, is a very unsuccessful advocate, and is of very great advantage to him who has a mind to deny. I, in those days more freely referred the conduct of my affairs to the stars than I have since done to my own forecast and sense. Most good husbands look upon it as a horrible thing to live always thus in uncertainty, and do not consider, in the first place, that the greatest part of the world live so. How many worthy men have wholly abandoned a certainty of their own, and do so daily, to court the inconstant favour of princes, and fortune ? Cæsar ran above a million of gold more than he was worth, in debt, to become Cæsar. And how many merchants begin their traffick by the sale of their farms, which they send to the Indies.

*Tot per impetentia freta * ?*

“ Over so many stormy seas.”

In so great a drought of devotion, as we see in these

* Cat. epig. iv. vers. 18.

days,

days, we have a thousand and a thousand colleges that pass it over commodiously, expecting every day their dinner from the liberality of heaven. Secondly, they do not take notice, that this certitude, upon which they so much rely, is not much less uncertain and hazardous, than hazard itself. I see misery beyond two thousand crowns a year, as near as if it stood close by me; for besides that it is in the power of chance to make a hundred breaches to poverty, through our riches, (there being very often no mean, betwixt the highest and the lowest fortune.)

Fortuna vitrea est: tum, quum splendet, frangitur.*

Fortune is glass, the brighter it doth shine,
More frail; and apt to break 'tis, when most fine.

To turn all our fences and bulwarks topsy turvy, I find that, by divers causes, indigence is as frequently seen to inhabit with those who have estates, as with those that have none; and, perhaps, it is not quite so grievous when alone, as when accompanied with riches, which flow more from good management than income. *Faber est suæ quisque fortunæ †*, "Every one is the maker of his own fortune;" and an uneasy, necessitous, busy, rich man, seems to me more miserable, than he that is simply poor. *In divitiis inopes, quod genus egestatis gravissimum est ‡*. "Poor in the midst of riches, which is the worst kind of poverty." The greatest and most wealthy princes are, by poverty and scarcity, driven commonly to extreme necessity; for can there be any more extreme, than to become tyrants, and unjust usurpers of their subjects estates? My second condition of life was, to have money of my own; wherein I so ordered the matter, that I had soon laid up a very notable sum, according to my fortune; not considering with myself, that that was to be reputed having, which a man reserved from his ordinary expence, nor that a

* Publius Syrius, upon fortune *Ex Menis*.

† Sallust, in his first oration to Cæsar *De Ordinanda Republicâ*, sect. 1.

‡ Seneca, Ep. 74, at the beginning, where you will see that Montaigne has transposed Seneca's words, to apply them to his subject.

man could rely upon the hopes of a revenue to receive, how clear soever his estate might be. "For what" said I, "if I should be surpris'd by such or such an accident; and, after the like vain and vicious imaginations, would very learnedly, by this hoarding of money, provide against all inconvenience; and could moreover answer, such as objected to me, that the number of them was too infinite, that tho' I could not lay up for all, I could however do it at least for some, and for many." Yet was not this done without great solitude and anxiety. I kept it very close, and as I dare speak boldly of myself, never talked of my money, but as others do, who, being rich, pretend to be poor, and being poor, pretend to be rich, dispensing with their consciences for ever telling sincerely what they have. A ridiculous and shameful prudence! Was I to go a journey? methought I never was enough provided: and the more I loaded myself with money, the more also was I loaded with fear, one while of the danger of the roads, another of the fidelity of him who had the charge of my sumpters, of whom, as some others that I know, I was never sufficiently secure, if I had him not always in my eye. If I chanced to leave the key of my cabinet behind me, what strange jealousies, and uneasy thoughts was I possessed with? and, which was worse, without daring to acquaint any body with the cause. My mind was eternally taken up in this manner; so that, all things considered, there is more trouble in keeping money than in getting it. And if I did not altogether as much as I say, yet it cost me something to restrain myself from doing it. I reaped little or no advantage from what I had, and my expences seem nothing less to me, for having the more to spend: for, as Bion * said, "The hairy men are as angry as the bald to be pulled;" and after you are once accustomed to it, and set your heart upon your heap, it is no more at your service, you dare not diminish it: it is a building that your fancy must of necessity tumble down, if you

* Seneca, in his treatise of the tranquility of the mind, cap. 8.

do but touch it. Necessity must first take you by the throat, before you can prevail upon yourself to lay a finger on it : and I would sooner have pawned any thing I had, or sold a house, and with much less reluctance or constraint upon myself, than have made the least breach in that beloved purse, I had so carefully laid by. But the danger was, that a man cannot easily prescribe certain limits to this desire (for they are hard to find in things that a man conceives to be good) nor stint this good husbandry so, that it may not degenerate into avarice : men being still intent upon adding to the heap, and encreasing the stock, from sum to sum, till at last they vilely deprive themselves of the enjoyment of their own proper goods, and throw the whole into reserve, without making any use of them at all. According to this rule, they are the richest people in the world, who are set to guard the gates and walls of a wealthy city. All moneyed men I conclude to be covetous. Plato places corporeal or human benefit in this order, health, beauty, strength, and wealth, the last of which says he, “ is not blind, but very clear-sighted, when illuminated by prudence.” Dionysius the son *, acted with a good grace. He was informed, that one of his Syracusians had buried some treasure, and thereupon sent to the man to bring it to him, which he accordingly did, privately reserving a small part of it only, to himself, with which he went to another city, where having lost his appetite of hoarding, he began to live at a more liberal rate. Which Dionysius hearing, caused the rest of his treasure to be restored to him, saying, “ that since he had learnt how to use it, he very “ willingly returned it back to him.”

How Montaigne regulated his expences.

I continued some years in this hoarding humour, when I know not what good demon fortunately put me out of it, as he did the Syracusian, and made me scatter abroad all that I had saved ; the pleasure of a certain voyage I took, of very great expence, having made me spurn

* Or Dionysius the father, according to Plutarch, in the notable sayings of kings, princes, and generals.

this love of money under foot, by which means I am now fallen into a third way of living (I speak what I think of it) doubtless much more pleasant and moderate, which is, that I spend to the height of my income; sometimes the one, sometimes the other may perhaps exceed, but it is very little that they differ at all; I live from hand to mouth, and content myself in having sufficient for my present and ordinary expence; for as to extraordinary occasions, all the laying up in the world would never suffice; and it is the greatest folly to expect that fortune should ever sufficiently arm us against herself. It is with our own weapons that we are to fight her, accidental ones will betray us when it comes to the pinch. If I lay up, it is not to buy lands, of which I have no need, but to purchase pleasure. *Non esse cupidum, pecunia est: non esse emacem, vestigal est* *. “Not to be covetous, is wealth; not to be a purchaser, is a tribute.” I am in no fear of wanting, nor desire of augmenting; *Divitiarum fructus est in copia; copiam declarat satietas* †. “The fruits of riches lie in abundance, and satiety declares abundance.” And I am particularly pleased with myself, that this reformation in me has fallen out at an age naturally inclined to avarice, and that I see myself cured of a folly so common to old men, and of all human follies the most ridiculous.

Feraulez, a man that had run through fortunes, and found that the increase of substance was no increase of appetite, either with respect to eating, drinking, sleeping, or the enjoyment of his wife; and who, on the other side, felt the care of his oeconomy lie heavy upon his shoulders, as it does on mine, was resolved to gratify † a poor young man, his faithful friend, who clamoured for riches, by making him a gift of all his wealth, which was excessively great (and which he was in the way of accumulating daily by the liberality of Cyrus, his good master,

A fine instance of the contempt of riches.

* Cicero Perad. vi. cap. 3.

† Ibid. cap. 2.

‡ See Xeno-

phon Cyropeedia, lib. viii. cap. 3. sect. 16—20

and by the war) conditionally that he should take care, to maintain him handsomely as his guest, and friend; and, they afterwards lived very happily together, equally content with the change of their condition.

Another instance to the same purpose.

This is an example that I could imitate with all my heart. And I very much approve the fortune of an ancient prelate, who absolutely stript himself of his purse, his revenue, and care of his expence; committing them, one while to one trusty servant, and another while to another, that he has spun out a long track of years, as ignorant, by this means, of his domestic affairs as a stranger. A confidence in another man's virtue, is no light evidence of a man's own; therefore God is pleased to favour such a confidence. As for him of whom I am speaking, I see no where a better governed family, or one that is more decently maintained than his; happy in having stated his affairs to so just a proportion, that his estate is sufficient to do it without his care or trouble, and without any hindrance, either in the spending or laying it up, to his other more agreeable, and quiet employments.

What renders a man contented, or indigent.

Plenty then and poverty depend upon the opinion every one has of them; and riches, no more than glory or health, have more of either beauty or pleasure, than he by whom they are possessed is pleased to imagine in them. Every one is well or ill at ease, according as he finds himself: not he whom the world believes, but he who believes himself to be so, is content; and in this alone, belief gives itself being and reality. Fortune does neither good nor hurt; she only presents us the matter, and the seed, which our soul, more powerfully than she, turns and applies as she best pleases; being the sole cause, and mistress of her own happy, or unhappy condition. All external accessions receive taste and colour from the internal constitution, as cloaths warm us, not with their heat, but our own, which they are fit to cover and nourish; and he that would cover a cold body, would do the same service for the cold, for thus
snow

show and ice are preserved *. In the same manner as study is a torment to a truant; abstinence from wine to a good fellow, frugality to the spendthrift, and exercise to a lazy, tender-bred fellow; so it is of all the rest. Things are not so painful and difficult of themselves, but our weakness or cowardice makes them so. To judge of great and high matters, requires a suitable soul, otherwise we attribute the vice to them, which is really our own. A strait oar seems crooked in the water: It is not only of importance that we see the thing, but in what manner we see it.

Well then, why amongst so many discourses, that by so many arguments persuade men to despise death and to endure pain, can we not find out one that makes for us? and of so many sorts of imaginations as have prevailed upon others; as to persuade them to do so, why does not every person apply some one to himself the most suitable to his own humour? If he cannot away with a strong working apozem to eradicate the evil; let him at least take a lenitive to ease it. *Opinio est quedam effeminata, ac levis: nec in dolore magis, quam eadem in voluptate: qua quum liquefcimus fluiusque mollior, apud aculeum sine clamore ferre non possumus.—Totum in eo est, ut tibi imperes **. “There is
“a certain frivolous and effeminate opinion, and that not
“more in pain, than it is even in pleasure itself: by which,
“whilst we roll in ease, and wantonness, we cannot endure
“so much as the sting of a bee, without roaring. The
“whole secret lies in this, to command thyself.” As to the rest, a man does not transgress philosophy, by crying out against the acrimony of pains, and human frailty so much beyond measure; for they must at last be reduced to these invincible replies. If it be ill to live in necessity, at least there is no necessity upon a man to live in necessity. No man continues ill long, but by his own fault. He who has neither the courage to die, nor the heart to live; who will neither resist nor fly, what should be done to him?

The notion of pain on what it is founded.

* It appears that Montaigne has taken all that follows, to the end of this paragraph, from a beautiful passage in Seneca's epistle 81.

+ Cicero Tusc. lib. ii. c. 22.

C H A P. XLI.

One Man's Honour, not to be communicated to another.

The vanity of a
passion for hon-
our.

OF all the follies of the world, that which is most universally received, is the solicitude for reputation and glory, which we are fond of to that degree, as to abandon riches, peace, life, and health, which are effectual and substantial goods, to pursue this vain phantom, this mere echo, that has neither body nor hold to be taken of it.

*La fama ch' invaghisce a un dolce suono
Gli superbi mortali, et par' si bella
E un echo, un sogno, anzi d'un sogno un' ombra
Ch' ad ogni vento si dilegua, et sgombra *.*

Glory, whose sweet and captivating sound
Inchants proud mortals all the world around,
Is but an echo, dream, or phantom fair,
Mov'd and dispers'd by ev'ry breath of air.

And of all the unreasonable humours of men, it seems that this continues longer, even with philosophers themselves, than any other, and that they have the most ado †, to disengage themselves from this, as the most resty and obstinate of all human follies. *Quia etiam bene proficientes animos tentare non cessat ‡*: “Because it continually tempts even virtuous minds.” There is not any one folly, of which reason so clearly blames the vanity, as this; but it is so deeply rooted in us, that I dare not determine, whether any one ever totally divested himself of it. After you have said and done all you can to disclaim it, it so strongly opposes your arguments, that you are hardly able to resist it: for § (as Cicero says) even

* Tasso, Canto, 14. Stanza 63, Gierusalemme liberata.

† “Etiam sapientibus cupido gloriæ novissima exuitur.” The desire of glory is the last passion of which even wise men can divest themselves, Tacit. lib. iv. I question whether Montaigne had this passage in view; for it is so beautiful, that if he had thought of it, I fancy he could not have omitted to quote it.

‡ Aug. de Civit. Dei. lib. v. cap. 14.

§ “Ipsi illi philosophi, etiam illis libellis quos de contemnendâ gloriâ scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt; in eo ipso in quo prædicationem nobilitatemque despiciunt, prædicari de se ac nominari volunt.” Orat. pro Archiâ Poetâ, cap. 11. Edit. Gronov.

those who condemn it, chuse that the books they write should bear their own names in the front, and seek to derive glory from seeming to despise it. All other things are communicable; in commerce, we lend our goods, and stake our lives for the necessity of our friends; but to communicate a man's honour, and to robe another with a man's own glory, is very rarely seen. And yet we have some examples of that kind.

Catulus Luctatius, in the Cimbrian war, having done all in his power to stop his soldiers flying from his enemy, ran away himself at last *, and counterfeited the coward, that his men might rather seem to follow their captain, than to fly from the enemy; which was abandoning his own reputation, to hide the shame of others. When Charles the fifth came into Provence, in the year 1537; it is said, that Antonio de Leva seeing the emperor positively resolved upon this expedition, and believing it would redound very much to his honour, did nevertheless oppose and dissuade him from it, to the end that the entire glory of that resolution should be attributed to his master; and that it might be said, his own opinion and foresight had been such, as that contrary to the sentiments of all, he had brought about so noble an enterprise; which was really doing him honour at his own expence.

The Thracian ambassadors, coming to comfort Archileonida, the mother of Brasidas, upon the death of her son, and commending him so much, as to say he had not left his like behind him; she rejected this private and particular commendation to attribute it to the public: "Tell me not that † (said she); I know the city of Sparta has several citizens greater, and more valiant than he was."

In the battle of Cressy ‡, the prince of Wales, being then very young, had the vanguard committed to him, where the main stress of the battle happened to

Private or particular praise refused.

Edward III. chuses to leave all the honour of the victory to his son.

* Plutarch, in the Life of Caius Marius, cap. 8.

† Plutarch, in the notable Sayings of the Lacedæmonians, at the Article *Brasidas*.

‡ 1146.

be, which made the lords that were with him, finding themselves overmatched, send to king Edward *, begging that he would please to advance to their relief; who thereupon enquiring of the condition his son was in, and being answered, that he was yet living, and on horse-back; "I should then do him wrong (said the king) "now to go, and deprive him of the honour of winning "this battle which he has so long disputed; what hazard soever he runs, the victory shall be entirely his "own." Accordingly he would neither go nor send, knowing that if he went, it would be said all had been lost without his succour, and that the honour of the victory would be attributed to his majesty. *Semper enim quod postremum adjectum est, id rem totam videtur traxisse.* "For the last stroke to a business seems always to draw "along with it the merit of the whole action." Many at Rome thought, and frequently said, that the noblest of Scipio's actions were, in part, due to Lelius, whose constant practice it was, nevertheless, to advance and support Scipio's grandeur and renown, without any care of his own. And Theopompus, king of Sparta, when a person told him the republic stood it out, because he knew so well how to command. "It is rather (answered he) because the people know so well how to obey †.

As women succeeding to peerages, had, notwithstanding their sex, the privilege to assist and give in their votes, in causes appertaining to the jurisdiction of peers; so the ecclesiastical peers, notwithstanding their profession, were obliged to assist our kings in their wars, not only with their friends and servants, but in their own persons; as the bishop of Beauvais did, who being with Philip Augustus, at the battle of Bouvines ‡, had a notable share in that action; but he did not think it fit for him to participate in the fruit and glory of that violent and bloody exercise. He, with his own hand, reduced several of the enemy that day to his mercy, whom he delivered to the first gentleman he met, either to kill, or

* Froissart, vol. i. cap. 10.
 † Theopompus.

‡ Plutarch, in the Article Theopompus.
 † Betwixt Lisle and Tournay, in 1214.

receive them to quarter, referring the whole execution to his hand. Thus also did William earl of Salisbury, to M. Jean de Nesle; who, with equal subtlety of conscience, would kill, but not wound an enemy, and for that reason never fought but with a club*. And a

* That is to say, "By a salvo of conscience, like to that other which I just now mentioned, this bishop chose to knock on the head, &c." In fact, this other salvo, which Montaigne had just attributed to the bishop of Beauvais, was not more frivolous than this, by which this same bishop made no scruple to knock those on the head, whom he did not chuse to wound or kill with a sword. For the bishop of Beauvais is intended in the latter case, as well as in the former: "At the battle of Bouvines, Mezeray expressly says, Philip bishop of Beauvais, brother to that king, did not strike with a sword, but with a club; thinking that knocking a man on the head, was not spilling his blood."—Mr. Cotton, the last translator of these Essays into English, has confounded this passage entirely; for his not comprehending that this latter salvo of conscience had relation to the bishop of Beauvais, in the same manner as the former, instead of delivering up William earl of Salisbury to M. John de Nesle, he tells us, "That William earl of Salisbury made use of a salvo of conscience, with regard to M. John de Nesle, like to the other whom we named above: he would (continues Mr. Cotton) kill, but not wound him; and for that reason never fought with a mace." By the manner in which this translator speaks here of the earl of Salisbury, one would be apt to say, that he only engaged in this battle to kill John de Nesle. These are Mr. Cotton's own words. "As also did William earl of Salisbury to Messire Jean de Nesle, with a like subtilty of conscience to the other we named before; he would kill but not wound him, and for that reason never fought with a mace."—The confusion which I discover this ingenious translator to be in at this passage, makes me a little dissident of myself. But though in all the editions of Montaigne, which I have seen, it is said, "With a salvo of conscience like to this other," I think I may venture to affirm, that Montaigne's expression, "of a salvo of conscience like to this other," means to this other salvo of the bishop of Beauvais; and that he would have us to understand here, that by a cunning salvo, like to that which he had just mentioned, the same bishop of Beauvais was desirous to knock on the head, but not to wound; having, for that very reason, fought only with a club.—As for William earl of Salisbury, it does not appear that he had the same scruple at the battle of Bouvines, as the bishop of Beauvais. It is certain at least, that this bishop took the earl of Salisbury, and delivered him prisoner to John de Nesle. This is what Montaigne says very clearly, before he mentioned this other cunning salvo of conscience, which engaged the bishop of Beauvais to fight only with a club. And all that Montaigne has here advanced, is very positively asserted in history. "William of Brittany, says John de Tillet, in his History of King Philip Augustus, makes mention of the bishop of Beauvais, a prince of the blood, brother to the count de Dreux, a peer of France; who being at the battle of Pont de Bouvines, with the said Philip Augustus, did, with one stroke of a club, knock down count William, surnamed Longspear, the bastard brother of the king of England, and commanded M. John de Nesle, knight, to make him

certain person of my time, being reproached by the king, that he had laid hands on a priest, positively denied the fact; affirming he had only cudgelled and kicked him.

C H A P. XLII.

Of the Inequality amongst us.

Extraordinary
difference be-
twixt man and
man.

PLUTARCH says somewhere *, that he does not find so great a difference betwixt beast and beast, as he does betwixt man and man. Which is said in reference to the internal qualities and perfections of the soul. And, in truth, I find (according to my poor judgment) so vast a distance betwixt Epaminondas, and some that I know (who are yet men of common sense), that I could willingly improve upon Plutarch, and say, that there is more difference betwixt such and such a man, than there is betwixt such a man and such a beast :

Hem vir viro quid præstat † !

What great disparity among men we find !

And that there are many degrees of wits, as there are cubits betwixt this and heaven. But, as touching the estimate of men, it is strange that, ourselves excepted, no other creature is esteemed beyond its proper qualities. We commend a horse for its strength and sureness of foot,

————— *Volucrum* —————
Si laudamus equum, facili cui plurima palma
Fervet, & exultat rauco victoria circa ‡.

So we for speed commend the horse that gains
Successive prizes in the dusty plains,

* his prisoner. The like did he with regard to many others, whom he laid sprawling on the ground: forasmuch as he was an ecclesiastic, the praise of his feats of arms is given as it were to others, and he only chose to fight with a club, that he might demolish without killing." Tillet's Memoirs, p. 220, printed at Troyes, 1578.

* At the end of his Treatise of Brutes having the Use of Reason.

† Ter. Eunuch. act. ii. sect. iii. ver. 1.

‡ Juvenal. sat. viii. ver. 57.

And which the trumpets in the circle grace,
 With their loud clangors for his well-run race :
 and not for his rich caparisons ; a greyhound for his
 share of heels, not for his fine collar ; a hawk for her
 wing, not for her gesses and bells. Why,
 in like manner, do we not value a man for
 what is properly his own ? he has a great
 train, a beautiful palace, so much credit,
 such a revenue : all these are about him,
 but not in him. You will not buy a pig in
 a poke : if you cheapen a horse, you have him stripped
 of his housing-cloaths, that he may appear naked and
 open to your eye ; or if he be cloathed *, as they anci-
 ently were wont to present to princes to sell, it is only on
 the less important parts, that you may not so much con-
 sider the beauty of his colour, or the breadth of his
 crupper, as to examine his legs, eyes, and feet, which
 are the members of greatest use :

A man to be
 valued for what
 he has in him,
 and not what
 he has about
 him.

*Regibus hic mos est, ubi equos mercantur, opertos
 Suspiciunt, ne si facies, ut sæpe, decora
 Molli fulta pede est, emptorem inducat hiantem,
 Quod pulchræ clunes, breve quod caput, ardua cervix †.*

When skilful jockeys would a courser buy,
 They strip him naked, head, back, breast, and thigh ;
 For oft an eager chapman is betray'd,
 To buy a foundler'd, or a spavin'd jade.
 While he admires a thin, light-shoulder'd chest,
 A little head, broad back, and rising crest.

‡ Why, in giving your estimate of a man, do you
 prize him wrapped and muffled up in cloaths ? He then
 discovers nothing to you, but such parts as are not in the
 least his own ; and conceals those, by which alone one
 may rightly judge of his value. It is the price of the
 blade that you enquire into, and not of the scabbard :
 You would not perhaps bid a farthing for him, if
 you saw him stripped. You are to judge of him by him-

* Juv. sat. viii. ver. 57.

† Hor. lib. i. sect. 2. ver. 86, &c.

‡ “ Equum empturus solvi jubes stratum,” &c.—“ Hominem invo-
 lutum æstimas ?” Seneca, epist. 80.

self, and not by what he wears. And as one of the ancients very pleasantly said, do you know why you repute him tall? You reckon the height of the pattins *, whereas the pedestal is no part of the stature. Measure him without his stilts, let him lay aside his revenues, and his titles, let him present himself in his shirt, then examine if his body be sound and sprightly, active, and disposed to perform its function? What mind has he? Is it beautiful, capable, and happily provided of all its faculties? Is it rich in what is its own, or in what it has borrowed? Has fortune no hand in the affair? Can it, without winking, face the lightning of swords; is it indifferent, whether life expire by the mouth or the throat? Is it settled, even, and content †? That is what is to be examined, and by that you are to judge of the vast difference betwixt man and man. Is he

————— *Sapiens, sibi qui imperiosus*
Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent,
Responjare cupidinibus, contemnere honores
Fortis, & in seipso totus teres atque rotundus,
Externi nequid valeat per læve morari,
In quem manca ruit semper fortuna ‡?

The man is truly wise that can controul,
 And govern all the passions of his soul;
 Whom poverty, nor chains, nor death affright,
 Who's proof against the charms of vain delight;
 Who can ambition's noblest gifts despise,
 Firm in himself, who on himself relies:
 Polish'd, and round, who runs his proper course,
 And breaks misfortune with superior force.

Such a man is raised five hundred fathoms above kingdoms and duchies, he is an absolute monarch himself.

Sapiens pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi §.

The wise man his own fortune makes.

What remains for him to covet or desire?

* "Quare magnus videtur? Cum basi illum sua metiri. Sen. ep. 76.

† Seneca.

‡ Horace, lib. ii. sat. 7. ver. 83, &c.

§ Plaut. Tri. act. ii. sect. 2. ver. 84.

—Nonne videmus
*Nil aliud sibi naturam latrare, nisi ut quæ
 Corpore sejunctus dolor absit, mente fruatur
 Jucundo sensu, cura semotus metuque* *;

We see that nature only seeks for ease,
 A body free from pains, free from disease,
 A mind from cares and jealousies at peace.

Compare with such a one, the common rabble of mankind, stupid and mean-spirited, servile, instable, and continually floating with the tempest of various passions, that tosses and tumbles them to and fro, and all depending upon others; and you will find a greater distance betwixt them, than betwixt heaven and earth; and yet so blind are we, that we make little or no account of it. Whereas, if we consider a peasant and a king, a nobleman and a vassal, a magistrate and a private man, a rich man and a poor one, there appears a vast disparity, though they differ no more (as a man say) than in their breeches.

In Thrace, the king was distinguished from his people after a very pleasant and odd manner: he had a religion by himself, a God too, all his own, and which his subjects were not to adore, viz. Mercury; whilst, on the other hand, he disdained to have any thing to do with theirs, Mars, Bacchus, and Diana †. And yet they are no other than pictures, that make no essential difference; for as you see actors in a play, representing the person of a duke or an emperor, upon the stage, and immediately after, in the tiring-room, return to their true and original condition, of footmen and porters; so the emperor, whose pomp so dazzles you in public,

Wherein the
 kings of Thrace
 distinguished
 themselves from
 their subjects.

* Lucret. lib. ii. ver. 16, &c.

† Herodotus, indeed, says, (lib. v. p. 331.) that the Thracian kings worshipped Mercury above all other gods, that they only swore by him alone, and pretended to be descended from him; but he does not say that they despised Mars, Bacchus, and Diana, the only deities of their subjects.

*Scilicet, & grandes viridi cum luce smaragdi
Auro includuntur, teriturque Thalassina vestis
Assidue, & veneris sudorem exercita potat* *.

Rings, with great emeralds, are in gold enchain'd,
To dart green lustre : and the sea-green vest
Continually is worn and rubbed to frets,
Whilst it imbibes the juice that Venus sweats.

Kings subject to
the same passions
and accidents as
others men.

if you will only peep behind the curtain,
you'll find nothing more than an ordinary
man, and, perhaps, more contemptible
than the meanest of his subject. *Ille beatus introrsum est, istius bracteata felicitas*
est †. “ True happiness lies within his breast ; the other
“ is but a counterfeit felicity.” Cowardice, irresolution,
ambition, spite, and envy, are as predominant in him,
as in another.

*Non enim gazæ, neque consularis
Summovet lictor, miseros tumultus
Mentis, & curas laqueata circum
Tecta volantes* ‡.

For neither wealth nor pow'r controul
The wretched tumults of the soul ;
Or force those cares to stand aloof,
Which hover round the vaulted roof.

Care and fear attack him, even in the center of his bat-
talions.

*Re veràque metus hominum, curæque sequaces,
Nec metuunt sonitus armorum, nec fera tela,
Audaçterque inter reges, rerumque potentes
Versantur, neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro* §.

For fears and cares, warring with human hearts,
Dread not the clash of arms, nor points of darts ;
But with great kings and potentates makes bold,
Spite of their purple, and their glitt'ring gold.

Do fevers, gouts, and the head-ach, spare them any
more than one of us ? When old age hangs heavy upon

* Lucret. lib. iv. ver. 1119, &c.

† Horace, lib. ii. ode. 16. ver. 11, &c.

‡ Seneca, ep. 115.

§ Lucret. lib. ii. ver. 47, &c.

a prince's shoulders, can the yeomen of his guard ease him of the burthen? When he is astonished with the apprehension of death, can the gentlemen of his bed-chamber secure him? When jealousy, or any other capricio swims in his brain, can our fine compliments restore him to his good humour? The canopy embroidered with pearl and gold, which he lies under, has no virtue to ease fits of the cholic.

*Nec calidæ citius decedunt corpore febres
Textilibus si in picturis, ostroque rubenti
Fasteris, quàm si plebeia in veste cubandum est*.*

Nor sooner will a bed superb assuage
The dreadful symptoms of a fever's rage,
Than if they homely couch were meanly spread
With poorest blankets of the coarsest thread.

The flatterers of Alexander the Great, possessed him, that he was the son of Jupiter: but being one day wounded, and observing the blood stream from his wound:

Alexander and
Antigonus
scorn their flatterers.

“What say you now †, (said he) is not this blood of
“a crimson colour, and purely human? This is not of
“colour, and purely human? This is not of the complexion with that which Homer makes to issue from
“the wounded Gods.” The poet ‡ Hermedorus had wrote a poem in honour of Antigonus, wherein he called him the son of the sun: “But whoever empties my
“close-stool, (said Antigonus) knows the contrary.” He is but a man at best; and if he be ill qualified from his birth, the empire of the universe cannot set him to rights.

Puellæ

Hunc raptant, quidquid culcaverit hic, rosa fiat §.

Though maids should ravish him, and where he goes,
In every step he takes should spring a rose.

What of all that, if he be a fool and a sot? even pleasure and good fortune are not relished without vigour and understanding.

In what sense the
favours of fortune
are a good.

* Lucret. lib. ii. ver. 34, &c.

† Plutarch, in the Notable Sayings of the ancient Kings, &c. in the Article of *Alexander*.

‡ Id. ibid in the Article of *Antigonus*.

§ Pers. sat. ii. ver. 38, 39.

*Hæc perinde sunt, ut illius animus, qui ea possidet,
Qui uti scit, ei bona, illi, qui non utitur recte, mala*.*

Things to the owners minds, their merit square,
Good if well used, if ill, they evils are.

Whatever the benefits of fortune are, they yet requite a palate fit to relish them : it is fruition, and not mere possession, that renders us happy.

*Non domus, et fundus, non æris acervus et auri,
Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres,
Non animo curas; valeat possessor oportet,
Qui comportatis rebus bene cogitat uti,
Qui cupit, aut metuit, juvat illum sic domus aut res,
Ut lippum piæ Tubulæ, fomenta podagram †.*

Nor house, nor lands, nor heaps of labour'd ore
Can give the fev'rish lord one moment's rest,
Or drive one sorrow from his anxious breast :
The rich possessor must be blest'd with health,
To reap the comforts of his hoarded wealth.
He that desires or fears, diseas'd in mind,
Wealth profits him, as pictures do the blind,
Or plasters gouty feet, &c.

He is a sot, his taste is palled and flat ; he no more enjoys what he has, than one that has a cold relishes the flavour of canary ; or than a horse is sensible of his rich accoutrements. Plato, therefore, is in the right, when he tells us, that health, beauty †, strength, riches, and all things called good, are equally evil to the unjust, as good to the just, and the evil on the contrary the same. Now then, where either the body or the mind is in disorder, what signify these external conveniences ? Considering, that the least prick with a pin, or the least passion of the soul, is sufficient to deprive us of the pleasure of being monarchs of the world. At the first twitch of the gout, it is to much purpose to be called sir, and your majesty ;

* Ter. Heaut. act. 1. sc. 2. ver. 21. 22.

† Horace, lib. i. ep. 2.

‡ Le Legibus, lib. ii. p. 579, where this subject is handled at large, and after a divine manner.

*Totus, et argento conflatus, totus et auro *.*

And to abound with silver and gold.

Does he not forget his palaces and grandeur ? If he be angry, can his being a prince keep him from looking red, and turning pale, and grinding his teeth like a madman ? Now if he be a man of parts, and well descended, royalty adds very little to his happiness :

*Si ventri benè, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus †.*

Who tastes the happiness from health which flows,
Reaps greater bliss than regal wealth bestows.

He discerns it is nothing but false and counterfeit. Nay, perhaps, he would be of king ‡ Seleucus's opinion, that he who knew the weight of a sceptre, would not stoop to take it up from the ground ; which he said in reference to the great and painful duty incumbent upon a good king. Doubtless it can be no easy task to rule others, when we find it so hard a matter to govern ourselves. And as to the thing dominion, that seems so charming, considering the frailty of human wisdom, and the difficulty of choice in things that are new and doubtful, I am very much of opinion, that it is much more easy and pleasant to follow than to lead ; and that it is a great happiness to the mind, to have only one beaten part to walk in, and to have none to answer for, but for a man's self ;

*Ut satiùs multo jam sit, parere quietum,
Quàm regere imperio res velle §.*

So that 'tis better calmly to obey,
Than in the storms of state a sceptre sway.

To which we may add that saying of Cyrus, that no man was fit to rule, but he who in his own worth was superior to all those he was to govern.

* Hor. lib. i. el. 1. ver. 71.

† Hor. lib. i. ep. 12. ver. 5, 6.

‡ Plutarch, in his tract, whether an old man ought to concern himself with public affairs, cap. 12.

§ Lucret. lib. v. ver. 1126.

But

Kings not in
such a condition
to taste pleasures
as private men.

But king Hieron, in * Xenophon, says farther, that even in the fruition of pleasure, they are in a worse condition than private men; forasmuch as the opportunities and facility they have of obtaining it, diminish the enjoyment.

*Pingus amor, nimiumque potens, in tædia nobis
Vertitur, Et stomacho dulcis ut esca necet †.*

Excessive love, in loathing ever ends,
As richest sauce the stomach most offends.

Can we think that the singing boys of the choir take any great pleasure in their own music; they are rather surfeited with it. Feasts, balls, masquerades, and tiltings, delight such as but rarely see, and desire to be at such solemnities: but after frequent repetitions, the relish of them grows flat and harsh. Nay, the ladies do not so much charm those who often enjoy them. He who anticipates thirst, can never find the true pleasure of drinking. Stage plays, and tumbling tricks, are pleasant to the spectators, but a drudgery to those by whom they are performed. And this is actually so; we see that princes divert themselves sometimes, in disguising their qualities, to stoop to the forms of low and vulgar life.

*Plerumque grata principibus vires,
Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
Cenæ sine auleis, et ostro,
Sollicitum explicuere frontem ‡.*

Changes have often pleas'd the great;
And in a cell a homely treat

Of healthy food, and cleanly dress'd;
Though no rich hangings grace the rooms,
Or purple wrought in Tyrian looms,

Have smooch'd a wrinkled brow, and calm'd a
ruffled breast.

* In Xenophon's Tract, intitled, Hieron, or the Condition of Kings.

† Ov. Amor. lib. ii. eleg. 19.

‡ Hor. lib. iii. ode 29. ver. 13, &c.

Nothing is so distasteful and clogging, as abundance. What man's appetite would not be palled, to see three hundred women at his service, as the grand seignior has in his seraglio? And what enjoyment of pleasure, did he reserve to himself who never went a hawking with less than seven thousand falcons?

Besides, I think that grandeur is no small enemy to pleasures. Great men are too conspicuous, and lie too open to every one's remark. They are obliged more than others to conceal their errors, since what is only reputed indiscretion in us, the people brand in them with the names of tyranny, and contempt of the laws. Plato, indeed, in his *Gorgias*, defines a tyrant to be one, who, in a city, has licence to do whatever he will. And for this reason, the publication of their vice does oftentimes more mischief than the vice itself. Every one fears to be pried into, or controuled; but princes are, even to their very looks and thoughts; the people conceiving that they have a right, and an interest to be judges of them: besides, that spots appear greater, by reason of the eminence and lustre of the place where they are seated; and that a speck, or a wart, seems greater in them, than a gash does in others. This is the reason why the poets feign the amours of Jupiter to be carried on in borrowed shapes; and amongst the many amorous intrigues they lay to his charge, there is only one, as I remember, where he appears in his own majesty and grandeur.

Why great men ought to be more careful of concealing their faults than little ones.

But let us return to Hieron, who complains of the inconveniencies he found in his royalty*, in that he could not go abroad, and travel at liberty, being as it were a prisoner within the bounds of his own dominion; and that, in all his actions, he was surrounded with a troublesome croud. And, in truth, to see our kings sit all alone at table, environed with so many people talking, and so many strangers staring upon them, I have often been moved, rather to pity, than to envy them.

Kings confined in the limits of their own country.

* In Xenophon's tract, intituled, *Hieron*, sect. 2.

King Alphonfus was wont to fay, that in this refpect, affes were in a better condition than kings, their mafters permitting them to feed at their eafe; a grant which kings cannot obtain of their fervants. And it would never enter into my fancy, that it could be of any benefit to the life of a man of fenfe, to have twenty people prating about him when he is at ftool; or that the fervices of a man of ten thoufand livres a year, or that has taken Cafal, or defended Siena, fhould be more commodious, and acceptable to him, than thofe of a good experienced valet.

The condition of country gentlemen in France in Montaigne's time.

The advantages of fovereignty are but imaginary, in a manner: every degree of fortune has in it fome fhadow of fovereignty. Cæfar calls all the lords of France, having free-franchife within their own demefnes, Roytelets, or petty-kings; and, in truth, the name of Sire excepted, they go a great length with our monarchs: for do but look into the provinces remote from court, as Brittany for example, and take notice of the attendants, the vaffals, the officers, the employment, fervice, and ceremony of a nobleman, that lives retired from court, at his own houfe in the country; and that has been bred up amongft his tenants and fervants; and obferve the flight of his imagination; there is nothing more royal: he hears talk of his fovereign once a year, as of a king of Perfia, without taking any farther notice of him, than as fome remote kindred in his fecretary's register. And, in truth, our laws are eafy enough; fo eafy, that a gentleman of France fcarce feels the weight of fovereignty, above twice in his life. Real and effectual fubjection only concerns fuch amongft us, as voluntarily accommodate themfelves to it, and who, by fuch fervices, aim at wealth and honour: for a man that loves his own fire-fide, and can govern his houfe, without engaging in quarrels, or fuits of law, is as free as a duke of Venice. *Paucos fervitus, plures fervitutem tenent* *. “Servitude feizes few, but many feize her.” But that which moft affected Hieron was, that he found himfelf deftitute of all friendship, and mutual fociety,

* Seneca, Ep. 22.

wherein the best, and most perfect enjoyment of human life consist. For what testimony of affection and goodwill can I draw from him that owes me, whether he will or no, all that he is able to perform? Can I place any dependence on his real respect to me, from his humble way of speaking, and submissive behaviour, when he is not at liberty to refuse it to me? The humour we receive from those that fear us, is not honour; those respects are paid to my royalty, and not to me.

*Maximum hoc regni bonum est,
Quòd facta domini cogitur populus sui
Quam ferre, tam laudare*.*

'Tis the great benefit of kings, that they
Who are by law subjected to their sway,
Are bound, in all their princes say or do,
Not only to submit, but praise it too.

Do I not see, that the wicked, and the good king, he that is hated, and he that is beloved, has the one as much reverence paid him, as the other? My predecessor was, and my successor will be served with the same state. If my subjects do me no harm, it is no evidence of any good affection; why should I look upon it as such, seeing it is not in their power to do it, if they would? No one follows me, upon the account of any friendship betwixt him and me; for there can be no contracting of friendship, where there is so little relation and correspondence: my own high station has put me out of a familiarity with men: there is too great disparity betwixt us; they follow me either upon the account of decency, and custom; or rather my fortune than me, to increase their own: all they say to me, or do for me, is but dissembled, their liberty being, on all sides, restrained by the great power I have over them. I see nothing about me but what is under covert and a mask. The emperor Julian being one day applauded by his courtiers, for his exact justice †: "I would be proud of these

* Seneca Thieft. act. ii. sc. 1. ver. 30, &c.

† Ammianus Marcel. lib. xxvii. cap. 10.

"praises," said he, "did they come from persons that durst condemn, or disapprove the contrary, in case I should do it." All the real advantages of princes are common to them with men of the middle rank. It is for the gods to mount winged horses, and feed upon ambrosia: kings have no other sleep, nor other appetite, than we; their steel is of no better temper than that we arm ourselves with; their crowns neither defend them from the rain, nor the sun.

Why Dioclesian
resigned the em-
pire.

Dioclesian, who wore a crown with great honour and good fortune, resigned it for the happiness of a private life: and some time after, the necessity of public affairs requiring that he should re-assume his charge, he said to those who came to court him to it, "You would not offer to persuade me to this, had you seen the fine row of trees I have planted in my orchard, and the delicate melons I have sowed in my garden."

The happiest go-
vernment.

In the opinion of Anacharsis, the happiest state of government would be, where, all other things being equal, precedency should be dealt to the * virtues, and repulses to the vices of men.

The vain ambi-
tion of Pyrrhus.

When king Pyrrhus prepared for his expedition into Italy, his wife counsellor Cyneas, to make him sensible of the vanity of his ambition: "Well, sir," said he †, "to what end do you make all this mighty preparation?" "To make myself master of Italy," (replied the king.) "And what then?" said Cyneas, "I will pass over into Gaul and Spain," said the other. "And what next?" "I will then go to reduce Africa; and lastly, when I have brought the whole world to my subjection, I will rest content, and live at my own ease." "For God's sake, sir," replied Cyneas, "tell me what hinders, that you may not, if you please, be now in that condition? Why do you not now, at this instant, settle yourself in the state you say you aim at, and spare yourself the labour and hazard you must encounter."

* Plutarch, in the Banquet of the seven wise Men, ch. 13.

† Plutarch, in the Life of Pyrrhus, chap. 7. of Amyot's Translation.

*Nimirum quia non bene norat quæ esset habendi
Finis, & omnino quoad crescat vera voluptas *.*

The end of being rich he did not know ;
Nor to what pitch felicity should grow.

I will conclude with an old observation which I think
very pat to the purpose.

Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam †.

Himself, not fortune, ev'ry one must blame,
Since men's own manners all their fortunes frame.

C H A P. XLIII.

Of Sumptuary Laws.

THE method by which our laws attempt to regulate idle and vain expences in meat and cloaths, seem to be quite contrary to the end designed. The true way would be, to beget in men a contempt of silks and gold, as vain and uselefs ; whereas we add honour and value to them, which sure is a very improper way to create disgust. For to enact, that none but princes shall eat turbot, nor wear velvet or gold lace, and interdict these things to the people, what is it but to bring them into greater esteem, and to set every one more agog to eat, and wear them ? Let kings (without more ado,) leave off these ensigns of grandeur, they have enough besides ; such excesses are more excusable in a subject, than a prince. We may learn by the example of several nations, better ways for the external distinction of rank and quality (which truly I conceive to be very requisite in a state) without fostering such manifest corruption and inconvenience, for this purpose.

It is strange how suddenly, and with how much ease, custom, in these indifferent things, establishes itself, and becomes authority. We had scarce worn

Gold and silver more to be despised by a prince than the subjects.

When silk cloaths first began to be despised in France.

* Lucret. lib. v. ver. 1431.

† Corn. Nep. in vit. Attici.

cloth a year, for the court mourning of Henry the Second, till silks were grown into such universal contempt, that a man so clad, was presently concluded to be a citizen. The silks were divided betwixt the physicians and surgeons, and tho' all other people almost went in the same dress, there were notwithstanding, in one respect or other, visible distinctions of men's qualities. How suddenly are the greasy chamois doublets become the fashion in our armies, whilst all neatness and richness of habit fall into contempt? Let kings but begin to leave off this expence, and in a month the business will be done throughout the kingdom; and without an edict we shall all follow. It should be rather proclaimed on the contrary, that no one should wear scarlet or gold lace, but whores and tumblers.

The laws which
Zaleucus made
to check luxury.

Zaleucus, with the like invention, reclaimed the corrupted manners of the Locrians. His laws were *, that no free woman should be allowed any more than one maid to follow her, unless she was drunk: nor was to stir out of the city by night, nor wear jewels of gold, or an embroidered gown, unless she was a professing whore: no men but rustians were to wear a gold ring, nor to be seen in one of those effeminate vests of the manufacture of Miletum. By which infamous exceptions, he diverted his citizens from superfluities, and pernicious pleasures; and it was a project of great utility to attract men, by honour and ambition, to their duty and obedience.

The court practice, is a rule for the French nation.

Our kings may do what they please in such external reformatations; their own inclinations stand in this case for a law. *Quicquid principes faciunt, præcipere videntur* †. “What princes themselves do, they seem to “enjoin others to do.” Whatever is done at court, passes for a rule through the rest of France. Let the courtiers but discountenance those abominable breeches, that discover so much of the parts which should be concealed; those tun-bellied doublets, that make us look

* Diodor. Sicul. lib. xii. cap. 20.

† Quintilian pro milite Declamat. p. 38. lib. iii. in 8vo. ex Officinâ Hackianâ, 1665.

like I know not what, and are so unfit for the bearing of arms; those long effeminate locks of hair; the silly custom of kissing what we present to our equals, as well as our hands in saluting them; a ceremony in former times only due to princes: let them not indulge a gentleman to appear in a place of respect without his sword, unbuttoned and untruss'd, as though he came from the house of office; and let it not be suffered that, contrary to the custom of our forefathers, and the particular privilege of the noblesse of this kingdom, we shall stand a long way off bareheaded to them in what place soever, and the same to a hundred others, (so many tierces and quarts of kings we have got now-a-days,) and the like of other such vicious innovations; they will see them all presently vanish. These are, it is true, superficial errors, but, however, a bad prognostic; and it is enough to inform us that the whole fabric is crazy and tottering, when we see the rough-cast of our walls cleave and split.

Plato in his laws *, esteems nothing of more pernicious consequence to this city, than to give youth † the liberty of introducing any change in their habits, gestures, dances, songs, and exercises, from one form to another; shifting from this to that side, hunting after novelties, and applauding the inventors; by which means manners are corrupted, and the old institutions come to be nauseated and despised. In all things, saving only in those that are evil, a change is to be feared; even the change of seasons, winds, provisions, and humours. And no laws are in their true credit, but those to which God has given so long a continuance, that no one knows their beginning, or that there ever were others.

New fashions fatal to youth.

* Lib. vii. p. 631. † At present the wit and politeness of several European nations consist very much in frequently altering the fashion of their cloaths, and in treating those they have just quitted with insipid raillery, if those modes are still kept up by their neighbours, or in any town of the country, remote from the capital. As to this human frailty, see Montaigne, ch. xlix. of this volume.

C H A P. XLIV.

Of Sleep.

REASON directs, that we should always go the same way, but not always the same pace. And consequently though a wise man ought not so much to give the reins to human passions, as to let them turn him from the right path; he may notwithstanding, without prejudice to his duty, leave it to them to hasten, or to slack his speed, and not fix himself like a motionless, and insensible colossus. Could virtue itself put on flesh and blood, I believe the pulse would beat faster going on to an assault, than in going to dinner: nay, there is a necessity it should beat and be moved upon this head. I have taken notice, as of an uncommon thing in some great men, who, in the highest and most important enterprises, have been loth to rise from their seat, or so much as to shorten their sleep*. Alexander the Great on the

The profound sleep of some great personages in their most important affairs.

day assigned for that decisive battle with Darius, slept so profoundly, and so long in the morning, that Parmenio was forced to enter his chamber, go to his bed-side, and to call him several times by his name, in order to awake him, because the hour

of battle was just at hand.

The emperor Otho, like Cato, slept just before he killed himself.

The emperor Otho, having put on a resolution to kill himself, the same night, after having settled his domestic affairs, divided his money amongst his servants, and set a good edge upon a sword he had made choice of for the purpose †, and staying only to be satisfied whether all his friends were retired in safety, he fell into such a sound sleep, that the gentlemen of his chamber heard him snore. The death of this emperor has in it many circumstances similar to that of the great Cato, and

* Plutarch, in the life of Alexander, ch. 11. of Amyot's translation.

† Plutarch, in the life Otho, ch. 8.

particularly this : for Cato being ready to dispatch himself, whilst he only staid his hand till they brought him the news whether the senators he had sent away, were put out from the port of Utica *, he fell into so sound a sleep, that they heard him into the next room ; and he whom he had sent to the port, having awaked him, to let him know that the tempestuous weather had hindered the senators from putting to sea, he dispatched away another messenger, and composing himself again in the bed, slept so, till, by the return of the last messenger, he had certain intelligence they were gone.

We may here further compare him with Alexander too, in that great and dangerous storm that threatened Cato by the sedition of the tribune Metellus, who attempting to publish a decree for the calling of Pompey with his army into the city, at the time of Catiline's conspiracy, was opposed only by Cato, so that very sharp language and bitter menaces past betwixt them in the senate, about that affair ; but it was the next day in the forenoon, that the controversy was to be decided, when Metellus, besides the favour of the people, and of Cæsar, (at that time of Pompey's faction) was to appear accompanied with a rabble of foreign slaves and desperate fencers ; and Cato only fortified with his own courage and constancy ; so that his relations, domestics, and many good people were in great apprehensions for him ; and some there were, who past the whole night without sleep, eating, or drinking, because of the manifest danger they saw him exposed to ; for which his wife and sisters did nothing but weep, and torment themselves in his house ; whereas he, on the contrary, comforted every one, and after having supped in his usual manner, went to bed †, and slept profoundly till morning, that one of his fellow-tribunes roused him to go to the encounter. The knowledge we have of the greatness of this man's courage from the rest of his life, may warrant us to pronounce, that his indifference proceeded from a soul so much

Cato's tranquility just before a popular commotion.

* Plutarch, in the life of Cato of Utica, chap. 19. † Id. ibid. chap. 8.

elevated above such accidents, that he disdained to let it take any more hold of his thought, than any other ordinary adventure.

Profound sleep
of Augustus just
before a battle.

In the naval victory that Augustus won of Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, just as they were to begin the fight he was so fast asleep, that his friends were compelled to wake him to give the signal of battle *: and this was what gave Mark Antony afterwards occasion to reproach him, that he had not the courage, so much as with open eyes to behold the order of his battle, nor to face the soldiers, till Agrippa had brought him news of the victory he had obtained over his enemies.

But as to young Marius, who did much worse (for the day of the last battle, against Sylla †, after he had marshalled his army, and given the word and the signal of battle, he laid him down under the shade of a tree to repose himself, and fell so fast asleep, that the rout and flight of his men could hardly awake him, having seen nothing of the fight) he is said to have been at that time so extremely spent, with labour and want of sleep, that nature could hold out no longer. Now, upon what has been said, the physicians may consider whether sleep be so necessary that our lives depend upon it: for we read that king Perseus of Macedon being prisoner at Rome, was killed by being debarred from sleep; but Pliny instances such as have lived long without sleep ‡. Herodotus speaks of nations, where the men sleep and wake by half years ||. And they who wrote the life of the Epimenides, affirm, that he slept fifty-seven years together §.

* Suetonius, in the Life of Augustus, cap. 16.

† Plutarch, in

the Life of Sylla, ch. 13.

‡ He mentions but one instance that I find, which is of Mæcenas, who, he says, for the last three years of his life had not one moment's sleep. Nat. Hist. lib. vii. cap. 52.

|| Herodotus speaks of this only by hear-say, and positively declares he did not believe it, lib. iv. p. 264. But perhaps he took this story in too literal a sense, and that it was intended for no other than a hint to him, that the people who live under the pole, are deprived of the light of the sun, for six months in the year, but enjoy it for the following six months; which is very true, if there be inhabitants in that part of the globe.

§ Diogenes Laertius in the Life of Epimenides, lib. i. sect. 109.

C H A P. XLV.

Of the Battle of Dreux.

OUR battle of Dreux* is remarkable for several uncommon accidents : but such as do not much favour the reputation of the duke of Guise, say he was to blame for making a halt, and delaying time with the forces he commanded, whilst the constable, who was general of the army, was raked through and through with the enemy's artillery : and that he had much better have ran the hazard of charging the enemy in the flank, than staying for the advantage of falling in upon the rear, to suffer so great a loss.

But, besides what the event demonstrated, whoever will consider it without prejudice, will I think easily be induced to confess, that the aim and design, not of a captain only, but of every private soldier, ought to be a victory in general ; and that no particular occurrences, how nearly soever they may concern his own interest, should divert him from that pursuit. Philopœmen † in an encounter with Machanidas, having sent before a good strong party of his archers, to begin the skirmish, which were routed by the enemy, the pursuers pushing on their victory near the corps where Philopœmen was, though his soldiers were impatient to fall on, yet he did not think fit to stir from his post, nor to face the enemy to relieve his men, but having suffered them to be pursued, and cut in pieces before his face, he charged a battalion of the enemy's foot, when he saw them left naked by their horse ; and notwithstanding they were Lacedæmonians yet taking them in the nick, when thinking themselves secure of the victory, they began to fall into disorder,

Victory, the principal aim of the general and every soldier.

* It was fought anno 1562. in the reign of Charles IX. and won by the conduct and valour of the duke of Guise.

† Plutarch, in the life of Philopœmen, cap. 6.

he did his business with great facility, and then put himself in pursuit of Machanidas. This case very much resembles that of Monsieur de Guise.

Battle of Agefilaus with the Bœotians.

In that bloody battle betwixt Agefilaus, and the Bœotians, which Xenophon, who was present at it, reports to be the sharpest that he had ever seen, Agefilaus* waved the advantage that fortune presented him, to let the battalion of Bœotians pass by, rather than charge them in the rear, so sure he made himself of the victory, judging it would be more art than valour, to proceed that way : and therefore, to shew his prowess he preferred charging them in the front ; but he was well beaten, and wounded for his pains, and constrained at last to take the course he had at first neglected ; opening his battalion to give passage to this torrent of the Bœotians who being past by, he taking notice that they marched in disorder, like men that thought themselves quite out of danger, pursued, and charged them in flank and rear ; yet he could not bring it to so general a rout, but that they leisurely retreated, still facing about upon him, till they got to a place of safety.

C H A P. XLVI.

Of Names.

WHAT variety of herbs soever are in the dish, goes by the general name of a salad. In like manner, under the consideration of names, I will make a hotch-potch of different articles.

Some names disliked : others fatally affected in the genealogies of some princes.

Every nation has certain names that, I know not why, are disliked, as with us, John, William, Benedict. In the genealogy of princes, there seems also to be certain names particularly affected, as the Ptolemies of Egypt, the Henrys of England, the Charles's of France,

* Plutarch, in the life of Agefilaus, chap. 6.

the Baldwins of Flanders, and the Williams of our ancient Aquitaine, from whence, it is said, the name of Guienne has its derivation; which how far fetched soever, there are as improbable derivations in Plato himself.

It is also a frivolous thing, yet worthy to be recorded for the strangeness of it, which is writ by an eye-witness; that Henry, duke of Normandy, son of Henry II. king of England, giving an entertainment in France, the concourse of nobility and gentry was so great, that being, for fancy's sake, divided into companies of the same names, in the first, which consisted of Williams, there were an hundred and ten knights sitting at the table, without reckoning the ordinary gentlemen, and their servants.

It is as pleasant to distinguish the tables by the names of the guests, as it was in the emperor Geta *, to distinguish the several dishes of his meat by the first letters of the meats themselves, where those that began with B, were served up together, as bacon, brawn, beef, bream, bustards, and so of others.

There is a saying, that it is a good thing to have a good name, that is to say, credit, and a good repute: but besides this, it is really convenient, to have such a name as is easy to be pronounced and remembered; by reason that kings, and other great persons, by that means the more easily know, and the more hardly forget us; and indeed, of our own servants, we more frequently call and employ those, whose names are the most ready upon the tongue. I myself have seen Henry II. when he could not remember a gentleman's name of our country of Gascony, and was fain to call one of the queen's maids of honour, by the general name of the race, her own family name was so strange. Socrates also thinks it worthy a father's care, to give easy names to his children.

Nobility placed at different tables at a feast, by a resemblance of names.

Dishes of meat served up according to the order of the alphabet.

It is good to have a name easy to be pronounced.

* *Ælii Spartiani Antoninus Geta*, p. 92. *Hist. August.*

The origin of the foundation of Notre Dame la Grande, at Poitiers.

It is said, that the foundation of Notre Dame la Grande, at Poitiers, was owing to a young debauchee, formerly living in that place, who having got a whore, and, at her first coming in, asking her name, and being answered, that it was Mary, he felt himself so suddenly penetrated with the awe of religion, and the reverence of that sacred name of the virgin mother of our Saviour, that he not only immediately put his mistress away from him, but became a reformed man for the remainder of his life: and in consideration of this miracle, there was erected upon the spot, where this young man's house stood, first a chapel dedicated to our Lady, and afterwards the church that we now see standing there. This vocal and auricular reproof made its way most devoutly into the soul. This that follows, insinuated itself merely by the corporeal senses; Pythagoras being in company with some young rakes, and perceiving that, heated with the feast, they plotted to go and violate an honest house, commanded the minstrel * to alter the tune, and by a solemn, grave, and spondaic music, gently charmed and laid asleep their ardour. Will not posterity say, that our modern reformation has been delicately exact, in having not only struggled with errors and vices, and filled the world with devotion, humility, obedience, peace, and all kinds of virtue; but having proceeded so far as to quarrel with the ancient baptismal names of Charles, Lewis, and Francis, to people the world with Methuselems, Ezeiels, and Malachies, which have a much more spiritual sound?

Superb and magnificent names of the ancient noblesse.

A gentleman, my neighbour, reckoning up the superior advantages of old times, in comparison with ours, did not forget to bring into the account, the lofty and magnificent names of some gentlemen of those days, don Grumedan, Quedregan, Agefilan, &c. which but to hear sounded, he perceived to be other kind of men, than Pierre, Guillot, and Michel.

* Sextus Empiricus adversus Mathem. lib. vi. p. 128.

I am mightily pleased with Jaques Amyot, for leaving throughout a whole French oration, the Latin names entire, without varying and garbling them, to give a French cadence. It seemed a little harsh at first: but already custom, by the authority of Plutarch, has overcome it. I have often wished that such as write histories in Latin, would leave our names just as they are; for in making Vaudemont, Vallemontanus, and metamorphosing names, to make them more uniform to the Greek or Latin, we know not where we are, nor who the persons were.

Amyot commended for not having Frenchified the Latin names, in his translation of Plutarch.

To conclude: it is a bad custom, and of very ill consequence, that we have in France, of calling every one by the name of his manor, or seigneury, and is the thing in the world that confounds pedigrees the most. A younger brother of a good family, who has had a manor left him, by the name of which he has been known and honoured, cannot handsomely quit the name: ten years after his decease, it goes to a stranger, who does the same: only judge how we shall know these men. We need look no farther for examples than our own royal family, where every partition of estates, creates a new surname, whilst in the mean time, the original of the family is totally lost.

A custom in France, for gentlemen to go by the name of their estates, why blameable.

There is so great liberty taken in these changes, that I have not in my time seen any one advanced by fortune, to any extraordinary grandeur, who has not presently had genealogical titles added to him, new, and unknown to his father, and who has not been inoculated into some illustrious stem. By good luck, the obscurest families are the most proper for changes. How many gentlemen have we in France, who, by their own account, are of royal extraction? more I think, than who will confess they are not. Was it not handsomely said by a friend of mine? There were a great many gentleman assembled together, about the dispute of one lord of a manor, with another; which

The obscurest families most liable to be falsified.

which other had in truth, some pre-eminence, of titles and alliances, above the ordinary class of gentry. Upon the debate every one aiming to make himself equal to him, alledged one, one extraction; another, another; one the near resemblance of name, another of the coat of arms, another an old worm-eaten patent; and the last pretended to be great-grandson to some foreign king. When they were going to dinner, my friend, instead of taking his place amongst them retired with most profound conges intreating the company to excuse him, for having hitherto lived with them at the saucy rate of a companion; but being now better informed of their ancient quality, he would begin to pay them the respect due to their degrees, and added that it did not become him to sit down among so many princes: but he ended the farce with a thousand invectives. "Let us, in God's name, satisfy ourselves with what contented our fathers, and with what we are: we are great enough, if we rightly understand how to maintain our dignity: let us not disown the rank and fortune of our ancestors, but lay aside these ridiculous pretences, that can never be wanting to any one that has the impudence to alledge them."

The uncertainty
of coats of arms.

Coats of arms have no more security, than surnames. I bear "Azure powdered with trefoils, or, with a lion's paw of the same, armed gules, in fesse." What right have I to appropriate this device to my family? A son-in-law will transfer it to another family; or some paltry purchaser will make mine his first arms: there is nothing in short wherein there is more change and confusion. But this consideration leads me into another field. Let us, in God's name, examine upon what basis we erect this glory and reputation, for which the world is turned topsy-turvy: wherein do we place this renown, that we hunt after with so much trouble? It is, in the end, Peter or William that carries it, takes it into his possession, and whom it only concerns. O what a courageous faculty is hope, that in a moment, proceeds to usurp infinity and immensity,
and

and to supply her master's indigence at her pleasure, with all things he can imagine or desire! Nature has given us this passion for a pretty toy to play with. And this Peter or William, what is it but a sound, when all is said and done? Or three or four strokes of a pen, so easy to be varied, in the first place, that I would fain know to whom is to be attributed the glory of so many victories, to Guesquin, to Glesquin, or to Guaaquin? And yet there would be a much greater probability in this case, than in Lucian, that sigma should serve tau, or S. T. with a process; for,

——— *Non levia, aut ludicra petuntur
Præmia* *.

To do brave acts, who has the noble spirit,
Sights mean rewards, as things below his merit.

It is no jest: the question is, which of these letters ought to be rewarded for so many sieges, battles, wounds, imprisonments, and services done to the crown of France, by this her famous constable †.

Nicholas Denisot ‡ never minded any thing but the letters of his name, of which he has altered the whole contexture to build up, by anagram, the count d'Alfinois, whom he has celebrated with the best of his poetry and painting. And the historian Suetonius was so desirous that his name should carry a meaning, that he cashiered his father's surname Lewis, to leave Tranquillus successor to the reputation of his writings. Who would believe that captain Bayard should have no ho-

* *Æneid. lib. xii. ver. 764.*

† In Froissart's History where we find all the most memorable actions of this great man, both before and after his advancement to the dignity of constable to his death, he is not named Guesquin, nor Glesquin, nor Guaaquin, but Guesclin. It is true that the same Froissart long after, having mentioned his death, tells us, that having called him by the name of Glesquin, in presence of William d'Ancenis a gentleman of Brittany, the gentleman said to him, "that Glay Aquin was the right surname of this famous constable, which he proves to him by a very pleasant story, which, however, has all the air of a romance. See Froissart's 3d vol. ch. 75.

‡ Born at Mans, in the year 1515.

nour, but what he derives from the feats of Peter Terrail? And that Antonio Escalin * should suffer himself to his face, to be robbed of the honour of so many navigations and commands at sea and land, by captain Paulin and the baron de la Garde?

Secondly, these are dashes of the pen, common to a thousand people. How many persons are there in all races, of the same name and surname? And how many in different races, ages, and countries? History tells us of three of the name of Socrates, of five Platos, eight Aristotles, seven Xenophons, twenty Demetrius's, and of twenty Theodores; and how many such history was not acquainted with, we may imagine. Who hinders my groom from calling himself Pompey the Great? But after all, what virtue, or what springs are there that fixed upon my deceased groom, or the other Pompey, who had his head cut off in Egypt, this glorious renown, and these so much honoured flourishes of the pen, so as to be of any advantage to them?

Id cinerem, & manes credis curare sepultos †?

Can we believe the dead regard such things?

* To be informed concerning Antonio Escalin, or Iscalin, or rather captain Paulin, called the baron de la Garde, it is necessary to trace the history of France from Francis I. in 1542, to Charles IX. He was a man of fortune, handsome and well set, and bred up by William de Rallay de Langey, governor of the Piedmontese. His family name was Iscalin. M. Wicquefort, calls him Anthony Paulin, from Paulin in the Albigeois, where he was born. He is called in M. de Thou's History. Antonius Iscalinus Adhemarus, (and oftener Adæmarus) Polinius Garda. He took the name of de la Garde, from a corporal of that name, who passing one day through Paulin, with a company of foot-soldiers, took a fancy to him, and carried him off with him, to make him his boy. He distinguished himself by his wit, valour, and conduct in the several employments which he had, as general of the galleys, ambassador to the Porte and to England. See his Eulogium in Brantome's Memoirs of Illustrious Men, p. 375. tome 2. lib. i. ch. II. of Wicquefort's Ambassador. Gratitude will not permit me to conceal that I am obliged for the greatest part of the memoirs of this person, and the preceding, to an account sent me from Paris, by the learned and obliging M. de la Monnoye, who extracted it from his treasures, at the request of a young nobleman, (the count de Caylus) of an illustrious birth, adorned with qualities, which are the source and basis of true nobility.

† *Æneid.* lib. iv. ver. 34.

What

What sense have the two most worthy amongst men;
Epaminondas of this glorious verse, that has been so
many ages current in his praise?

Consiliis nostris laus est attrita * *Laconum* :

One Sparta by my counsels is o'erthrown.

Or Africanus of this other?

A sole exoriente, supra Mæotis Paludes
Nemo est, qui factis me æquiparare queat †.

From early dawn, unto the setting sun,
No one can match the deeds that I have done.

The survivors indeed tickle themselves with these fine words, and being by them incited to jealousy or desire, inconsiderately and fancifully attribute this their sense to the dead: God knows how vainly flattering themselves that they shall one day, in turn, be capable of the same characters: however,

————— *Ad hæc se*

Romanus, Grajusque et Barbarus, induperator
Erexit; causas discriminis, atque laboris
Inde habuit, tanto major famæ sitis est, quàm
Virtutis ‡.

Greek, Roman, and Barbarian chiefs to these;
Devote their valour and desire of praise,
And to that greediness of glory owe
The dangers and fatigues they undergo;
So much more potent is the thirst of fame
Than that of virtue.

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. lib. v. cap. 17.

† Id. ibid. cap. 7.

‡ Juvenal Sat. x. ver. 137, &c.

C H A P. XLVII.

Of the Uncertainty of our Judgment.

Whether a conquered enemy should be pursued to extremity. Reasons for and against it.

IT was well said of the poet,
 Ἐπείων δὲ πολλὸς νόμος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα *.

“There is every where liberty of
 “arguing, enough, and enough to be
 “said on both sides.” For example :

*Vince Annibal, et non seppe usar' poi
 Ben la vittoriosa sua ventura †.*

The Carthaginian, tho' renown'd in fight,
 Improv'd not all his victories as he might.

Such as would improve this argument, and condemn the late oversight of our leaders, in not pushing our point at Moncontour; or accuse the king of † Spain of not knowing how to make use of the advantage he had against us at St. Quintin, may conclude these oversights to proceed from a soul already intoxicated with success, or from a stout heart, which being full, and over-gorged with this beginning of good fortune, had lost the appetite of adding to it, having already enough to do to digest what it had taken in. He has his arms full, and can seize no more; unworthy of the advantage fortune had put into his hands. For what benefit reaps he from it, if, notwithstanding, he give his enemy an opportunity to recover, and make head against him? What hope is there that he will have courage at another time to attack an enemy re united and armed anew with spite and revenge, who did not dare to pursue him when routed; and dispirited by fear?

* Homer, Iliad xx. ver. 249.

† Vetrar. Son. 81.

‡ Philip II. who defeated the French near St. Quintin, the 20th of August, 1556, being St. Lawrence's day.

Dum fortuna calet, dum conficit omnia terror *.

Whilst fortune's in a heat, and terror throws

A dismal gloom, confounding all their foes.

But what better opportunity can he expect, than that which he has lost? It is not here as in fencing, where the most hits gain the prize: for so long as the enemy is on foot, hostilities will be renewed: and that is not to be called a victory, which puts not an end to the war. In the encounter where Cæsar had the worst, near the city of Oricum, he reproached Pompey's soldiers †, that he would have been ruined, had their general known how to overcome; and in his turn he put him to flight, and pursued him. But why may not a man also argue, on the contrary, that it is the effect of a precipitant and insatiable spirit, not to know how to stop its ardour; that it is to abuse the favours of God, to exceed the measure he has prescribed them; that again to throw a man's self into danger, after a victory obtained, is again to expose himself to the mercy of fortune; and that it shews the greatest discretion in the art of war, not to drive an enemy to despair. Sylla and Marius, in their confederate war, having defeated the Marsians, and seeing a body of reserve, that, prompted by despair, was coming on like wild beasts to fall upon them, thought it not convenient to stand their charge. Had not Monsieur de Foix's ardour transported him so precipitantly to pursue the remains of the vanquished at Ravenna, he had not stained the victory by his own death: and yet the recent memory of his example served to preserve Monsieur d'Anguien from the same misfortune, at the battle of Serisoles. It is dangerous to attack a man you have deprived of all means to escape, but by his arms; for necessity dictates violent measures: *Gravissimi sunt morsus irritatæ necessitatis* ‡, “Enraged necessity bites deep.”

Vincitur haud gratis jugulo qui provocat hostem §.

The foe that meets the sword, sells his life dear.

* Lucan. lib. vii. ver. 734.
ch. xi. † Port. Lat. in Decla.

† Plutarch, in the life of Cæsar,
§. Luc. lib. iv. ver. 275.

—This it was that made Pharax with-hold the king of Lacedæmon, who had defeated the Mantineans *, from going to charge a thousand Argians, who were escaped in a body from the defeat ; but rather let them steal off at liberty, that he might not encounter valour, whetted and enraged by misfortune. Clodomire, king of Aquitaine, after his victory, pursuing Gondemar, king of Burgundy, who was routed and flying, compelled him to face about, and make head, wherein his obstinacy deprived him of the fruit of his victory, for he there lost his life.

Whether soldiers should be richly armed.

In like manner, if a man were to chuse whether he would have his soldiers sumptuously and richly armed, or armed only for necessary defence ; this argument would step in, in favour of the first (of which opinion was Sertorius, Philopœmen, Brutus, Cæsar †, and others) that it always is to a soldier, a spur to his honour and glory, to see himself fine, and withal, a motive for him to be more obstinate in fight, having his arms, that are in a manner his estate and inheritance, to defend ; which is the reason (says Xenophon) why those of Asia carried their wives, concubines, with their choicest jewels and treasure, along with them to their wars. But then this would also be an argument for the other side, that a general ought rather to render his men careless of life, than to increase their care of preserving it : that, by this means, they will be in a double fear of hazarding their persons, as it will spirit up the enemy to fight with greater resolution, where so rich spoils are to be obtained by the victory : and this very thing has been observed, in former times, wonderfully to encourage the Romans against the Samnites. Antiochus shewing Hannibal the army he had raised against them, splendid, and rich, in all sorts of equipage, asked him, “ If the Romans would be satisfied with this army ? ” “ Satisfied,” replied the other, “ Yes “ doubtless, were their avarice ever so great.” Lycurgus not only forbade his soldiers to be sumptuous in

* Diod. Sicul. lib. xii. cap. 25.

† Suetonius, in the life of Cæsar, sect. 67.

their equipage, but to strip their conquered enemies, being desirous (as he said) that poverty and frugality should shine with the rest of the battle.

At sieges, and elsewhere, where occasion draws us near to the enemy, we willingly suffer our men to brave, insult, and affront the enemy, with all sorts of injurious language; and not without some colour of reason: for it is of no little consequence to take from them all hopes of mercy and composition, in representing to them, that there is no favour to be expected from an enemy they have so incensed, nor other remedy left, but in a victory. And yet Vitellius* found himself herein deceived; for having to do with Otho, weaker in the valour of his soldiers, long unaccustomed to war, and rendered effeminate with the delights of the city, he so nettled them, at last, with injurious language, reproaching them with cowardice, and the regret of the mistresses and entertainments they had left behind at Rome, that by this means, he inspired them with a resentment, which no exhortation could produce; and himself drew them upon his back, whom their own captains before could not push upon him. And, indeed, when they are injuries that touch to the quick, it may very well fall out, that he who went but coolly to work in the behalf of his prince, will proceed with another temper when the quarrel is his own.

Whether soldiers should be suffered to brave and insult the enemy.

To consider of how great importance is the preservation of the general of an army, and that the aim of an enemy is levelled directly at that head upon which all the others depend; the advice seems to admit of no dispute, which we know has been taken by so many great captains, of changing their habit, and disguising their persons, upon the point of a battle. Nevertheless, the inconvenience of a man, by so doing, runs into, is not less than that which he thinks to avoid: for the general being, by this means, concealed from the know-

Whether generals ought to disguise themselves before a battle.

* Or rather his lieutenants, who commanded in his absence. See Plutarch's Life of Otho, ch. 3.

ledge of his own men, the courage they might derive from his presence and example, happens, by degrees, to fail; and not seeing the wonted * marks and ensigns of their leader, they presently conclude him either dead, or that, despairing of the day, he is gone to shift for himself; and experience declares, that both these ways have been successful at times. What befel Pyrrhus, in his battle with the consul Levinus in Italy, will serve us to both purposes; for though, by disguising his person under the armour of Demogacles †, and making him wear his own, he indeed saved his own life; yet, by that very means, he was very near running into the other mischief, of losing the battle. Alexander, Cæsar, and Lucullus, loved to make themselves known in a battle, by rich accoutrements, and armour of a particular lustre and colour: Agis, Agefilaus, and that great Gilippus ‡, on the contrary, used to fight in obscure armour, and without any princely attire.

Whether best to fall upon an enemy, or to wait for an attack.

Amongst other oversights with which Pompey § is charged, at the battle of Pharsalia, he is condemned for making his army stand still to receive the enemy; by reason that (I shall here use Plutarch's own words, which are better than mine) it slackens the violent impression which the motion of running gives to the first blow, and hinders that clashing of the combatants, one against another, which used to fill them, more than any thing, with great impetuosity and fury, on the first encounter,

* As at the battle of Ivry, in the person of Henry the Great.

† Or rather Megacles, as may be seen in Plutarch's Life of Pyrrhus, ch. 8.

‡ It is my opinion that one who has been forced to fly his country from a sentence of death, for having robbed the public, can never deserve the title of a great man. As to the infamous robbery committed by this Gilippus, see Diodorus of Sicily, lib. xiii. ch. 33. translated by Amyot. His father, whose name was Clearchus, was in the same scrape. Being call for his life, he fled, says Diodorus, before the sentence. Thus, adds the historian, did these two personages, who in other respects were both reputed excellent men, throw a scandal upon the rest of their lives and actions, by suffering themselves to be corrupted with sordid avarice.

§ It is Cæsar himself that lays this blame on Pompey. De Bello Civili. lib. iii. cap. 17.

especially when they rush in upon one another with vigour, increasing their courage by the shouts and the career, rendering the soldiers ardour, as one may say, more cool and firm. This is what he says, on this side of the question; but if Cæsar had come by the worse, why might it not as well have been urged by another, on the contrary, that the strongest and most steady posture of fighting, is that wherein a man stands planted firm, without motion; and that he who makes a halt upon a march, by confining, and reserving his force within himself for an occasion, has a great advantage against him who is shocked, and who has already spent half his breath in running on to the charge? Besides, that an army being a body made up of so many different parts, it is impossible for it to move, in such fury, with so exact a motion, as not to disturb or break the order of battle, and to hinder the most forward men from being engaged, before their associates can relieve them. In that unnatural battle, betwixt the two Persian brothers, Clearchus, the Lacedæmonian, who commanded the Greeks of Cyrus's party, led them on in fine order, and without hurry, to the charge; but coming within fifty paces, put them up on full speed, hoping, in so short a career, to keep them both in order and breath, and, at the same time, giving the advantage of impetuosity both to their persons and their missile arms: others have settled the point thus: if your enemy come running upon you, stand firm to receive him; if he stand firm to receive you, run full drive upon him*.

In the expedition of the emperor Charles the fifth into Provence, king Francis might have chosen, either to meet him in Italy, or to expect him in his own dominions; wherein, though he considered of how great advantage it was to keep his own territories clear from the troubles of war, to the end that his strength being entire, he might continually supply men and money at need; that the necessity of war requires, at every turn, to spoil and waste the country,

Whether it is best for a prince to wait for his enemy in his own territory, or to go and attack him upon his territory.

* Plutarch, in the Precepts of Marriage, sect. 34.

which cannot well be done upon one's own ; and that the country people do not so easily digest such havoc by those of their own party, as from an enemy, so that seditions and commotions might, by such means, be kindled amongst us ; that the licence of pillage and plunder (which are not to be tolerated at home) is a great ease to the sufferings of war ; and that he who has no other prospect of gain, than his bare pay, will hardly be kept upon duty, when but two steps from his wife, and his own house : that he who lays the cloth, is ever at the charge of the feast ; that there is more alacrity in attacking them defending ; and that the shock of the loss of a battle in our own territories, is so violent, as to endanger the dissolution of the whole body politic, there being no passion so contagious, or that so easily gains ground, as fear ; and that the citizens who should hear the rattle of the tempest at their gates, which should receive their captains and soldiers, yet trembling and out of breath, would be in danger, in this combustion, to precipitate themselves upon some untoward resolution : notwithstanding all this, he chose to recall the forces he had beyond the mountains, and to wait for the enemy. For he might, on the other hand, imagine, that being at home, and amongst his friends, he could not fail of plenty of all manner of conveniencies : the rivers and passes of which he was master, would bring in both provisions and money safe, without the trouble of convoy ; that he should find his subjects the more affectionate to him, the nearer the danger was ; that having so many cities and barriers to secure him, it would be in his power to hasten or delay battle, as he saw fit ; and if the latter pleased him, that he might, under covert, and at his own ease, see his enemy founder, and defeat himself with the difficulties he was certain to encounter, in an enemy's country ; where, before, behind, and on every side, war would be made upon him, and where he would have, in case of a sickness in his army, no means to refresh himself, to enlarge his quarters, or to lodge his wounded men in safety : no money, no victuals, but what he fights for ; no leisure to halt and take breath, no knowledge of the ways

ways or country, to secure him from ambushes and surprizes ; and, in case of losing a battle, no possible means of saving the remains. Neither is there want of examples in both these cases.

Scipio thought it much better to go and attack his enemy's territories in Africa, than to stay at home to defend his own, and to fight him in Italy, where he was ; and it succeeded well with him : but, on the contrary, Hannibal, in the same war, ruined himself by abandoning the conquest of a foreign country, to go and defend his own. The Athenians having left the enemy in their own dominions, to go over into Sicily, were not favoured by fortune ; but Agathocles, king of Syracuse, found her favourable to him, when he went over into Africa, and left the war at home. So that the common observation is just, that events, especially in war, for the most part, depend upon fortune, who will not be governed by, nor submit to human prudence ; according to the poet :

Instances for
and against the
question.

*Et male consultis pretium est, prudentia fallax,
Nec fortuna probat causas sequiturque merentes :
Sed vaga per cunctos nullo discrimine fertur.
Scilicet est aliud quod non cogatque, regatque,
Majus, & in proprias ducat mortalia leges *.*

Prudence deceitful and uncertain is,
Ill counsels sometimes hit, where good ones miss ;
Though fortune sometimes the best cause approves,
Adverse, and wildly she as often roves.
So that some greater and more constant cause,
Rules and subjects all mortals to its laws.

But, to take the thing right, it should seem that our counsels and deliberations depend as much upon fortune, as on ourselves ; and that she engages our very reasoning in her uncertainty and confusion. We argue rashly and adventurously, says Timæus in Plato †, by reason that as well as ourselves, our arguments are greatly subject to chance.

* Manil. Astron. lib. iv. ver. 85, &c.

† Plato, in Timæus, p. 528.

C H A P. XLVIII.

Of the War Horses called Destriers.

The horses destriers why so called.

BEHOLD I am become a grammarian ; I who never learned any language but by rote, and who do not yet know adjective, conjunction, or ablative. I think I have read, that the Romans had a sort of horses, called *Funales*, or *Dextrarios*, which were either led-horses, or horses laid in at several stages, to be taken fresh upon occasion ; and thence it is, that we call our horses of service, Destriers : and our romances commonly use the phrase of a Romans *Destrer* for *Accompagner* to accompany. They also called *Desultorios equos* those horses which were so trained, that running full speed, side by side, without bridle or saddle, the Roman gentlemen armed at all points, would shift, and throw themselves from the one to the other, in the midst of the race. The Numidian gens d' arms, had always a led-horse in one hand, besides that they rode upon, to change in the heat of battle : *Quibus, desultorum in modum, binos trahentibus equos, inter acerrimam sæpe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis, transfultare, mos erat. Tanta velocitas ipsis, tamque docile equorum genus* *. “ Whose custom was, leading “ along two horses, after the manner of the Desultorii, “ armed as they were, in the heat of fight, to vault from “ a tired horse to a fresh one ; so active were the men, “ and so docile the horses.” There are many horses trained up to help their riders, so as to run upon any one that appears with a drawn sword, to fall both with mouth and heels upon any that front or oppose them : but it often falls out, that they do more harm to their friends than their enemies, besides that you cannot loose them from their hold, to reduce them again into order, when they are once engaged ; by which means

* Liv. lib. xxliii. cap. 29.

you remain at the mercy of their quarrel. Artibius, general of the Persian army, fighting, man to man, with Onesilus, king of Salamis, and being mounted upon a horse trained after this manner, it proved the occasion of his death; Onesilus's armour-bearer cleaving him down with a falchion betwixt the shoulders *, as the horse was reared up against his master. And if it be true what the Italians report, that in the battle of Fournoue †, king Charles's horse, with kicking and prancing, disengaged his master from the enemy, that pressed upon him, otherwise he had been killed; it is certain he ran a very great hazard.

The Mamalukes boast, that they have the most dextrous horses of any cavalry in the world; that by nature and custom, they are formed to know and distinguish the enemy whom they fall foul upon, with teeth and heels, according to a word or sign given: as also to gather up with their mouths, darts and launces scattered upon the field, and present them to their riders, on the word of command.

The horses of the Mamalukes, very dextrous.

It is said, both of Cæsar and Pompey the Great, that, amongst their other qualities, they were excellent horsemen; and particularly of Cæsar ‡, that in his youth, being mounted on a horse, without saddle or bridle, he made him perform all his paces with his hands behind him.

Cæsar and Pompey good horsemen.

* Herodot. lib. v. ver. 376. † In the narrative which Philip de Comines has given of this battle, in which he himself was present, (lib. viii. ch. 6.) he tells us of wonderful performances by the horse on which the king was mounted. The name of the horse was Savoy, and it was the most beautiful horse he had ever seen. During the battle the king was personally attacked when he had no body near him, but a valet de chambre, a little fellow and not well armed. "The king, says Philip de Comines, had the best horse under him in the world, and therefore with he stood his ground bravely, till a number of his men not a great way from him, arrived at the critical minute when the Italians ran away." This does not seem very contradictory to what the Italians say, that had it not been for his horse, king Charles would have been lost.

‡ Plutarch, in the Life of Julius Cæsar, ch. 5. of Amyot's Translation.

Alexander's
horse.

As nature designed to make of this personage, and of Alexander, two miracles of military art, so one would say, she had done her utmost to arm them after an extraordinary manner: for every one knows, that Alexander's horse Bucephalus, had a head inclining to the shape of a bull, that he would suffer himself to be mounted and governed by none but his master, and that he was so honoured after his death, as to have a city built after his name.

Cæsar's horse.

Cæsar had also another, which had fore feet like those of a man, and a hoof divided in the form of toes; which was not to be ridden, mounted, or managed, by any but Cæsar himself; who, after its death, dedicated its statue to the goddess Venus *.

Riding a very
wholesome exer-
cise.

I do not willingly alight when I am once on horseback; for it is the place where, whether well or sick, I find myself most at ease. Plato recommends it for health; and Pliny says, it is good for the stomach and the joints †.

The Parthians
almost always on
horseback.

We read in Xenophon, of a law, forbidding any one who had a horse, to travel on foot. Trogus and Justinus; say, that the Parthians used not only to make war, but to manage all affairs, whether public or private, make bargains, confer, treat, take the air, and all on horseback; and ‡ that the greatest distinction betwixt freemen and slaves amongst them, was, that the former rode all on horseback, and the latter went on foot: an institution of which Cyrus was the founder.

When the ca-
valry ought to
dismount in a
battle.

There are several examples in the Roman history, (and Suetonius more particularly observes it of Cæsar) of captains, who, on pressing occasions, commanded their cavalry to alight, by that means to take from them all hopes of running away, as also for the advantage they hoped for, by fighting in this manner. "*Quo haud dubiè superat Romanus.*" Wherein the Romans, says Livy ||, did

* Sueton. in Cæsar's Life, sect. 61.

† Lib. xxviii. cap. 4.

‡ Justin's Hist. lib. xii.

|| Liv. lib. ix. cap. 24.

“undoubtedly excel :” however, the first thing they did to keep the people newly conquered in awe, was to take from them their arms and horses : and therefore it is that we so often meet in Cæsar, *Arma proferri, jumenta produci, obsides dari jubet* *. “He commanded the arms to be “surrendered, the horses brought out, and hostages “to be given.” The grand seignior, to this day, suffers not a Christian or a Jew to keep a horse of his own, throughout his empire.

Our ancestors, especially at the time they had war with the English, in all their engagements and pitched battles fought for most part on foot †, that they might have nothing but their own force, courage, and strength to trust to, where life and honour were at stake. You trust (whatever Chryfantès in Xenophon says to the contrary) your valour, and your fortune, to that of your horse ; his wounds and death bring your person into the same danger ; his fear or fury shall make you reputed rash or cowardly ; if he is headstrong or resty, your honour must answer it : and therefore do not think it strange, that those battles I spoke of above, were more obstinate and furious than those that are fought on horseback.

Inconvenience
of fighting on
horseback.

———*Cedebant pariter, paritèrque ruebant
Victores victique, neque his fuga nota, neque illis †:*

The furious hosts alike their weapons ply,
Alike they fell, alike they scorn'd to fly.

Their battles were much better disputed : now a days there are nothing but routs ; *Primus clamor, atque impetus rem decernit* : “The first shout, or the first charge, “puts an end to the business.” And the arms we chuse to make use of in so great a hazard, should be as much as possible at our own command : wherefore I would advise to chuse the shortest sort and such for which we can best answer. We may, one would think, rely more on a

* Cæsar's Com. de Bello Gallico, lib. vii.

† Virg. Æneid. lib. x. ver. 576.

† See Froissart.

sword in the hand, than on a bullet from a pistol, wherein there must be a concurrence of several things, to make it perform its office, the powder, the flint, and the lock, if any of which fail, it endangers your fortune : a man is not sure to hit, whose aim is directed by air.

*Et quò ferre velint permittere vulnera ventis,
Ensis habet vires, et gens quæcunque virorum est
Bella gerit gladiis *.*

————— Far off with bows
They shoot, and where it lists the wind bestows
Their wounds ; but fight of sword does strength
require,
All manly nations the sword-fight desire †.

But of that weapon I shall speak more fully, when I come to compare the arms of the ancients with ours. And setting aside the astonishment of the ear, which yet every one grows familiar with in a little time, I look upon it as a weapon of very little execution, and hope we shall one day, quite lay it aside.

The use of the phalarica, a weapon of the ancient Italians.

That missile weapon which the Italians formerly made use of both with fire and without, was much more terrible : they called a certain kind of javelin, armed at the point with an iron spear three feet long, that it might pierce through and through an armed man, phalarica. This they sometimes, in field-service, darted by hand ; sometimes from engines for the defence of places besieged : the shaft of it being rolled round with flax, pitched and oiled, took fire in its flight, and lighting upon the body of a man, or his target, took away all the use of arms and limbs. And yet coming to close fight, I should think it would also disable the assailant, and that the camp being as it were covered with these flaming truncheons, would produce a common inconvenience to both armies.

* Lucan. lib. viii. ver. 384.

† Mr. May's translation.

———*Magnum stridens contorta phalarica venit,
Fulminis æta modo*———*.

———The phalarica when shot off does fly,
With a huge noise, like thunder, through the sky.

They had, likewise, other inventions, (which will seem incredible to us who have not tried them) whereby they supplied the want of our powder and shot. They threw their darts with such violence, as oftentimes transfixed two targets, and two armed men at once, and pinned them together. Neither were there slings less certain of execution, or of shorter carriage: *Saxis globosis funda, mare apertum incessantes: Coronas modici circuli magno ex intervallo loci assueti trajicere: non capita modo hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinasse eris*†.

“Culling round stones from the shore for their slings; and with them practising at a great distance, they not only wounded an enemy in the head, but hit any other part at pleasure.” Their battering pieces did not only the execution, but also imitated the thunder of our cannon: *Ad ietus mœnium cum terribili sonitu editos, pavor & trepidatio capit*‡. “At the battering of the walls, which is performed with a dreadful noise, the defendants began to fear and tremble.” The Gauls, our kinsmen in Asia, abominated these treacherous missile arms, it being their practice to fight with greater bravery, hand to hand. *Non tam patentibus plagis moriuntur.—Ubi latior, quam altior, plaga est, etiam gloriosius se pugnare putant: iidem quum aculeus sagittæ aut glandis abditæ introrsus tenui vulnere in speciem urit: tum iracundiam et pudorem tam parvæ perimentis pestis versi, prosternunt corpora humi*||. They are not so much concerned at large wounds; when a wound is wider than deep, they think they fight with greater glory: but when they receive a small wound, with the point of an arrow, or some bullet, then, transported with fury and shame to perish by so mean an instrument of death,

* Virg. *Æneid.* ix. ver. 705, &c.

† Id. *ibid.* cap. 5.

‡ Liv. lib. xxxviii. cap. 29.

|| Id. *ibid.* cap. 21.

they fall to the ground ; a description this, very like a *harquebuss* shot. The ten thousand Greeks, in their long and famous retreat, met with a nation who very much galled them with great and strong bows, shooting arrows so long, that, taking them up again, one might return them back like a dart, and therewith pierce a buckler and an armed man through and through. The engines of *Dionysius's* invention at *Syracuse*, to throw vast massy darts, and stones of a prodigious bulk, with so great impetuosity, and to so great a distance, came very near to our modern inventions. But, in this discourse of horses and horsemanship, we are not to forget the pleasant posture of one *Maistre Pierre Pol*, a doctor of divinity, upon his mule, which *Monstrelet* reports he always rode with both legs a-side, through the streets of *Paris*, like a woman. He says also, elsewhere *, that the *Gascons* had terrible horses, that would wheel about in their full speed, which the *French*, *Picards*, *Dutch*, and *Brabanters* thought very miraculous, having not seen the like before. *Cæsar* speaking of the *Swedes* †, in the charges they make on horseback, says he ‡, they often throw themselves off to fight on foot, having taught their horses not to stir in the mean time from the place, to which they presently run again upon occasion ; and, according to their custom, nothing is so unmanly and so base, as to use saddles, or pads, and they despise such as make use of those conveniencies : inasmuch that being but a very few in number, they fear not to attack a great many.

* Vol. i. cap. 66. where to the *Gascons*, *Monstrelet* adds the *Lombards* whom *Montaigne* forgot or omitted on purpose, says the historian, to do the more honour to his countrymen, the *Gascons* ; which whosoever will, may believe, but I cannot prevail with myself to suspect him of such an artifice.

† Read *Suabians*, a people of Germany, whom *Cæsar* expressly calls *Suevorum Genus*. Sweden was not known to the Romans in *Cæsar's* time, which it is likely *Montaigne* knew very well. The word *Swedes* therefore must be an error of the press, an error which, however, I have found in all the editions of this book, which I could possibly consult, as well as in the English translation.

‡ *Cæsar's* Comment. lib. iv. de Bello Gallico.

That which I have formerly wondered at, to see a horse made to perform all his exercise, with a switch only, and the reins upon his neck, was common with the Massilians, who rode their horses without saddle or bridle.

The Massilians, a people of Africa, ride on horses without saddle or bridle.

*Et gens quæ nudo residens Massilia dorso,
Ora levi flectit, frænorum nescia virga,
Et Numidæ infræni cingunt*.*

Massilians, who unsaddled horses ride,
And with a switch their fiery courfers guide,
The fierce Numidians too, with steeds unbound,
Join'd in a body, and begirt us round.

Equi sine frænis, deformis ipse cursus, rigida cervice, & extento capite currentium †. “The career of a horse without a bridle, is disagreeable, while he carries his neck stiff, and his nose in the air.”

King Alphonso, who first instituted the order of knights of the sash or scarf, in Spain, amongst other rules gave them this, that they should never ride mule or or mullet, upon penalty of a mark of silver; as I lately read in Guevara's Letters, of which, whoever gave them the title of golden epistles, had another kind of opinion than I have ‡. The courtier says that, till his time, it was a disgrace to a gentleman to ride one of these creatures: but the Abyssines, on the contrary, as they are nearer advanced to the person of Prester John, affect to be mounted upon large mules, for the sake of pomp and dignity.

To ride on mules honourable or dishonourable in different countries.

* Lucan, lib. iv. ver. 682, 683. Virg. Æneid, lib. iv. ver. 41.

† Liv. lib. xxxv. cap. 11.

‡ You will find, at the article *Guevara*, in Bayle's Dictionary that, from the over fondness of some Frenchmen for Guevara's Letters, the whole French nation has been reproached with it; a groundless reflection, as all those commonly are which tend to blacken whole nations. According to this fine way of reasoning, we have the honour of France repaired now, by the opinion of Montaigne, who sets little value upon Guevara's Letters.

The furious
horses of the As-
syrians.

Xenophon tells us, that the Assyrians were fain to keep their horses fettered in the stable, they were so fierce and vicious; and that it required so much time to loose and to harness them, that to avoid any disorder this delay might bring upon them, in case of surprize by the enemy, they never lay in their camp, till it was fortified with ditches and ramparts. His Cyrus, who was so great a master of horsemanship, kept his horses from their ordinary allowance, and never suffered them to have any thing to eat till they had earned it by the sweat of some exercise.

The blood and
urine of horses
serve for nou-
rishment in case
of need.

The Scythians, when in the field, and in scarcity of provisions, used to draw blood from their horses, which they drank, both for thirst and nourishment;

Venit et epoto Sarmata pastus equo *.

Hither the Scythian also steers his course.

Gorg'd with the juices of his bleeding horse,

Those of Crete being besieged by Metellus †, were in so great necessity for drink, that they were fain to quench their thirst with their horses urine.

How the Turk-
ish armies sub-
sist.

To shew how much cheaper the Turk-
ish armies support themselves than ours,
besides that the foldiers drink nothing
but water, and eat nothing but rice and salt-flesh
minced (of which every one easily carries with him a
month's provision) they know how to feed upon the
blood of their horses, as well as the Muscovites and Tar-
tars, and salt it.

Horses as much
esteemed by the
Americans as
the Spaniards
themselves.

Those new discovered people of the In-
dies, when the Spaniards first landed a-
mongst them, had so great an opinion
both of the men and horses, that they
looked upon them as Gods, or as animals ennobled
above their nature. And some of them, after they were

* Mart. lib. iii. ver. 4.
In Externis, sect. 1.

† Valer. Maxim. lib. vii. ch. 6.

subdued, coming to sue for peace, with presents of gold and provisions, failed not to make an offer of the same to the horses, with the same kind of harangue to the animals they had made to the men; interpreting their neighing, for a language of truce and friendship. In the Indies, on this side the Ganges, to ride upon an elephant was the royal and chief honour, the second to ride in a coach with four horses, the third to ride upon a camel, and the last and meanest, to be carried or drawn by one horse only. One of our late writers tells us, that he has seen countries in that climate, where they ride upon oxen, with saddles, stirrups, and bridles, and very much at their ease. Quintus Fabius Maximus Rutilianus*, in a battle with the Samnites, seeing his cavalry, after three or four charges, had failed of breaking into the enemy's battalion, made them unbridle their horses, and spur them with all their mettle; so that having † nothing to check their career, through weapons and men overturned, they might open the way for his foot, who, by that means, gained a complete, but bloody victory. The same command was given by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, against the Celtiberians: *Id cum majore vi equorum facietis, si effrenatos in hostes equos immittatis: quod sæpe Romanos equites cum laude secisse memorie proditum est. Detrahitique frenis bis ultro citroque cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis, transcurrerunt ‡.* “ Your horses will be of greater service to you, if you “ spur them unbridled upon the enemy, as it is record- “ ed the Roman horse, to their great glory, have often “ done.” Accordingly, their bridles being pulled off, they charged through and through the enemy, with a great slaughter, without breaking their spears.

The duke of Muscovy § was anciently obliged to pay this reverence to the Tartars, that when they sent an embassy to

Mare's milk the
delight of the
Tartars.

* Or rather Rullianus. Tit. Liv. lib. vii. cap. 30.

† Idem, ibid. ibid.

‡ Liv. lib. xl. ch. 40.

§ See the Chronicle of Muscovy, by Peter Petrejus, a Swede, printed in High Dutch, at Leipzig, in 1620, in 4to. part ii. p. 159. This species of slavery began about the middle of the thirteenth century, and lasted near 260 years.

him, he went out on foot to meet them, and presented them with a goblet of mare's milk (a favourite beverage of theirs) and if, in drinking, a drop fell by chance upon the manes of their horses, he was bound to lick it off with his tongue.

The army that Bajazet had sent into Russia, was overwhelmed with so dreadful a storm of snow, that, to shelter and preserve themselves from starving with the cold, many killed and ripped out the bowels of their horses, to creep into their bellies, and enjoy their warmth. Bajazet, after that furious battle, in 1401, wherein he was overthrown by Tamerlane, was in a hopeful way of escaping, by the fleetness of an Arabian mare he had under him, had he not been constrained to let her drink her fill at the fording a brook, which rendered her so faint and dull, that he was afterwards easily taken by his pursuers. They say, indeed, that to let a horse stale, takes him off his mettle; but I should rather have thought that drinking would recruit him. Cræsus marching his army over certain commons, near Sardis, met with a great number of serpents, which the horses devoured with a great appetite, and which, Herodotus* says, was an ill omen to his affairs. We call a horse *cheval entier* that has his mane and ears entire, and no others will pass muster.

Horses clipped to
be led in tri-
umph.

The Lacedæmonians having defeated the Athenians in Sicily, and returning triumphant from the victory, into the city of Syracuse, amongst other insolencies, caused all the horses they had taken to be clipped and led in triumph. Alexander fought with a nation called Dæ; a people whose discipline it was, to match two and two together, armed on horseback to battle; during which, one always alighted, and so they fought, one while on horseback, and another on foot, each after the other by turns. I do not think that for skill, and graceful riding, any nation in the world excels the French; though a good horseman, according to our way of speaking, seems rather to respect the courage of the man, than his ad-

* Lib. i. p. 35.

dress in riding. Of all that ever I saw the most knowing in that art, I think he that had the best seat, and the best method in breaking horses, was Monsieur de Carnavalet, who served our king Henry II.

I have seen a man gallop, standing with both his feet upon the saddle, take off the saddle, and at his return take it up again, refit it, and remount himself, riding all the while full speed; and having galloped over a bonnet, make very good shots backwards at it with his bow, take up any thing from the ground, setting one foot on the ground, and keeping the other in the stirrup; with other such monkey-tricks, by which he got his living. There have been seen, in my time, at Constantinople, two men upon one horse, who, in the height of his speed, would throw themselves off, and into the saddle again by turns; and one who bridled and saddled his horse with nothing but his teeth. Another, who betwixt two horses, one foot upon one saddle, and another upon the other, carrying a person upon his shoulders, would ride full speed, the other standing bolt upright upon him, making very sure shots with his bow. Several who would ride full speed with their heels upwards, and their heads upon the saddle, betwixt several scymitars, with the points upward, fixed in the harness. When I was a boy, the prince of Sulmone breaking a rough horse at Naples to all his airs, fixed reals to his knees and toes, as if they had been nailed there, to shew the firmness of his seat.

Instances of the
wonderful dex-
terity of riders.

C H A P. XLIX.

Of Ancient Customs.

I Should willingly pardon our people for admitting no other pattern or rule of perfection, than their own peculiar manners and customs; it being a common vice, not of the vulgar only, but almost of all men, to walk in the path which their ancestors have trod before them: I am content when they see Fabritius or Lelius, that they

look upon their countenance and behaviour as barbarous, seeing they are neither cloathed nor fashioned according to our mode. But I find fault with their singular indiscretion, who suffer themselves to be so imposed

The French very
changeable in
their dress.

upon by authority of the present practice, as every month to alter their opinion, if custom so require, and that they should so vary their judgment of themselves. When they wore the belly-pieces of their doublets up as high as their breasts, they stiffly maintained that they were in their proper place: some years after they were slipped down between their thighs, and then they could laugh at the former fashion, as foolish and intolerable. The fashion now in use, makes them absolutely condemn the ancient mode, with so great resolution and so universal contempt, that a man would think there was a certain kind of madness amongst them, that makes such a whirligig of their understanding. Now seeing that our change of fashions is so prompt and sudden, that the inventions of all the taylors in the world cannot furnish out new whims enough; those that were cast off will necessarily often come again in vogue, and even those soon fall into the same contempt; and the same judgment will, in the space of fifteen or twenty years, take up two or three, not only different but contrary opinions, with an incredible lightness and inconstancy: there is not any of us so cunning, that suffers not himself to be gulled with this contradiction, and both his external and internal sight to be insensibly blinded.

The practice of
the ancient Ro-
mans to fight
with rapier and
cloak.

I will here muster up some old customs that I have in memory, some of them the same with ours, the others different, to the end that bearing in mind this continual variation of human things, we may have our judgment clearer, and more firm. Our way of fighting with a rapier and short cloak, was in practice amongst the Romans also, *Sinistris sagos involvant, gladiosque distringunt* *. They wrapped their cloaks round

* Cæsar de Bello Civili, lib. i.

the left arm, and handled the sword with the right, says Cæsar; and I observe there has been a vicious custom in our nation, from that time to this *, which is to stop passengers we meet upon the road, to compel them to give an account who they are, what news they hear, and to take it for an affront, and cause of quarrel, if they will not tell us.

† At the bath, which the ancients made use of every day, before they went to dinner, and as frequently as we wash our hands, they at first only bathed their arms and legs; but afterwards, and by a custom that has continued for many ages, in most nations of the world, they bathed the whole body, in mixed and perfumed waters, looking upon it as a great simplicity to bathe in simple water: the most delicate and affected, perfumed themselves all over, three or four times a day ‡. They often caused their hair to be pinched off their bodies, as the women of France have, for some time past, accustomed to do from their foreheads,

The ancients
bathed every
day before din-
ner.

Quod pectus, quod crura tibi, quod brachia vellis §:

How thou dost twitch thy breast, thy arms and thighs!

They perfumed their bodies, and twitched off their hairs, though they had ointments proper for that purpose, and sometimes they painted with a bit of chalk, after being steeped in vinegar,

Psilotro nitet, aut arida latet abdita creta ||.

They delighted to lie soft, and considered it as a great token of hardness to lie upon a mattress ¶.

They used to eat lying upon beds, They did eat on
much after the manner of the Turks in their beds.
this age.

* Cæsar de Bello Civili, lib. iv.

† Sen. ep. 86.

‡ Id. ibid.

§ Mart. lib. ii. epig. 62. ver. 1.

|| Id. lib. vi. epig. 93. ver. 9.

¶ "Laudare solebat Attalus culcitram quæ resisteret corpori. Tali
"utor etiam senex," says Seneca, ep. 108.

Inde thoro pater Æneas sic orsus ab alto *.

Then thus Æneas, from his bed of state,
Begun Troy's woeful story to relate.

It is said of the younger Cato, that after the battle of Pharfalia, having contracted a melancholy disposition, at the ill posture of the public affairs, he took his repast always sitting, assuming an austere course of life.

How they paid
their respects to
their great men. It was also their custom to kiss the hands of great persons, by way of honouring and caressing them; and, meeting with their equals, they always kissed each other in salutation, as do the Venetians.

Gratulusque darem cum dulcibus oscula verbis †.

And kindest words I would with kisses mix.

In petitioning, or saluting any great man, they used to lay their hands upon his knees. Pasicles, the philosopher, and brother of Crates †, instead of carrying his hand to the knee, laid it upon his codpiece; and being rudely repulsed by him to whom he made that indecent complement, "What, said he, is not that part
" your own as well as the other?" They used to eat their fruits, as we do, when dinner was over.

What use they
made of a
sponge. They wiped their arses (let the delicate ladies mince it as they please) with a sponge, which is the reason that *spongia* is a smutty word in Latin; which sponge was also fastened to the end of a stick, as appears by the story of him, who, as he was led along to be thrown to the wild beasts in the sight of the people, asking leave to do his business §, and having no other way to dispatch himself, forced the sponge and stick down his own throat, and choaked himself. They used to deterge the tarse, after coition, with perfumed wool.

* Æneid. lib. ii. ver. 2, † Ovid de Pont. lib. iv. eleg. 9. ver. 13.

‡ Diog. Laert. in the Life of Crates, lib. vi. sect. 89.

§ Senec. ep. 70.

*At tibi nil faciam, sed lota mentula lana *.*

They used, in the cross streets of Rome, to place certain vessels and little tubs, for passengers to piss in.

*Pusi sæpe lacum propter, se ac dolia curta,
Somno devincti credunt, extollere vestem †.*

Boys dream of pissing in the tub or lake,
And find themselves bepiss'd when they awake.

They made a collation betwixt meals, and had in summer those who sold snow to cool their wine : and some there were who made use of snow in winter, not thinking their wine cool enough even then †. The men of quality had their cupbearers, and carvers, and their buffoons to make them sport.

They cooled
their wine with
snow.

They had their meat-served up in winter upon a sort of chafing-dishes ; which were set upon the table, and had portable kitchens (of which I myself have seen some) wherein all their service was carried after them.

They had port-
able kitchens.

*Has vobis epulas habete, lauti :
Nos offendimur ambulante cæna ||.*

These feasts, how much soever you commend,
Your walking suppers greatly us offend.

In summer they had a contrivance to bring fresh and clear streams of water through lower rooms, wherein were great store of living fish, which the guests took out with their own hands to be dress'd, every man according to his own taste. Fish has ever had this pre-eminence, and keeps it still, that the great men all pretend to be skilled in dressing them, and indeed the taste is more delicate than

Fish-pools in
their lower
rooms.

* Mart. lib. xi. epig. 59. ver. 11.

† Lucret. lib. iv. ver. 1020.

‡ At Montpellier many people drink ice in the winter, even to this day.

|| Mart. lib. vii. epig. 47. ver. 4, 5.

that of flesh, at least to me. In all sorts of magnificence, debauchery, and voluptuous inventions of effeminacy and expence, we do in truth all we can to equal them, for our wills are as corrupt as theirs : but we cannot come up to them ; nor are we more able to reach them in their vicious, than in their virtuous qualities ; for both the one and the other proceed from a vigour of mind, which was without comparifon greater in them than in us : and by how much the weaker the mind is, so much the less power has it to do much good or harm.

The most honourable place at table among the Romans. Whether they named themselves before or after those to whom they spoke or wrote.

The highest place of honour amongst them was the middle ; the name going before, and that following after, either in writing or speaking, had no signification of grandeur, as is evident by their writings ; they will as soon say Oppius and Cæsar, as Cæsar and Oppius, and me and thee, as thee and me. This made me formerly take notice, in the life of Flaminius *, in our French Plutarch, of one passage, where it seems as if the author, speaking of the jealousy of honour betwixt the Ætolians and Romans, about the winning of a battle, which they had with their joint forces obtained, made it of some importance, that in the Greek songs, they had put the Ætolians before the Romans ; if there be no ambiguity, in the words of the French translations.

The men and women bathed together.

The ladies in their baths, made no scruple of admitting men amongst them, and moreover made use of their serving-men to rub and anoint them :

*Inguina succinctus nigra tibi servus alluta
Stat, quoties calidis nuda foveris aquis †.*

They all powdered themselves with a certain powder, to moderate their sweats. The ancient Gauls, says Sidonius Apollinaris, wore their hair long before, and the

* Chap. 5. of Amyot's translation.

† Mart. lib. vii. epig. 34. ver. 1, 2.

hinder part of the head shaved short, a fashion that begins to be revived in this vicious and effeminate age.

The Romans used to pay the watermen their fair, at their first stepping into the boat, which we never do till after landing*. The Romans paid their watermen at embarking.

*Dum as exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
Tota abit hora †.*

Whilst the fare paying and the mule is bound,
Full sixty minutes run their circle round.

The women used to lie on that side the bed next the wall : and for that reason, they called Cæsar, Spondam Regis Nicomedis ‡, one of the greatest blemishes in his life, and that gave occasion to his soldiers to sing to his face,

Gallias Cæsar subegit, Nicomedes Cæsarem,

Cæsar the Gauls subdu'd 'tis true,
But Nicomedes Cæsar did subdue.

*Ecce Cæsar nunc triumphat, qui subegit Gallias,
Nicomedes non triumphat, qui subegit Cæsarem §.*

See Cæsar triumphs now for conqu'ring Gaul,
For conqu'ring him, king Nicomede at all
No triumph has.

They took breath in their drinking, and dashed their wine,

——— *Quis puer ocios
Restinguet ardentis falerni
Pocula prætereunte lymphæ § ?*

* In Holland they pay the watermen their fare, in about half way of their voyage. † Hor. lib. i. sat. 5. ver. 13, 14. ‡ Suet. in vita Cæsar, sect. 49. § Hor. lib. ii. ode 11. ver. 13. || Id. eod. not quoted by Montaigne.

To cool the tepid wine, what boy is nigh,
With water which the living founts supply?

And their lackeys had the same knawish looks as ours,

*O Jane, à terga quem nulla ciconia pinxit,
Nec manus auriculas imitata est mobilis, albas,
Nec linguae quantum sitiet canis Appula tantum*.*

O Janus, who both ways a spy does wear,
So that no scoffer, tho' behind thee, dare
Make a stork's-bill, as ears, or, far more long
Than thirsty panting curs, loll out his tongue.

The ladies of Argos and Rome always mourned in white, as ours did formerly here, and should do still, were I to have my will. But there are whole books written upon this argument.

C H A P. L.

Of Democritus and Heraclitus.

The judgment
active in every
thing.

THE judgment is a tool or rather a touch-stone to try all subjects by, and will have an oar in every boat: which is the reason that, in these essays, I take hold of all occasions to exercise it. If it happen to be a subject I do not understand, I try however, sounding at a distance, and finding it too deep for my stature, I keep on the shore: and this knowledge that a man can proceed no further, is one effect of its operation, even in those who are the most conceited. One while in an idle and frivolous subject, I try if it will find out matter whereof to compose a body, and then to prop, and support it. Another while I employ it in a noble but knotty subject, wherein the judgment has nothing to introduce of its own, the way being so trodden, that it must of necessity walk

* Persius, sat. 1. ver. 58, &c.

in the steps of another. In such a case, the judgment is to direct the way, and of a thousand paths to determine which was the best chosen. I take that argument which fortune first presents me; they are all alike to me, I never design to go through any of them; for I never see the whole of any thing: neither do they who promise to let us see it. Of a hundred members and faces that every thing has, I take one sometimes to look it over only, another while to ripple up the skin, and sometimes to pinch it to the bones: I give a stab, not so wide, but as deep as I can; and am, for the most part, tempted to take it in hand by some absolute gracefulness I discover in it. Did I know myself less, and was I mistaken in my inability, I might, perhaps, venture to handle something or other to the bottom; but sprinkling here one word, and there another, patterns from several pieces, and scattered without design, and without a promise, I am not responsible for them, or obliged to keep close to them, without deviating at my own liberty and pleasure, and giving up myself to doubt and uncertainty, and to my own predominant ignorance.

Every motion lays us open. The very same soul of Cæsar, that discovered itself so plainly in marshalling the battle of Pharsalia, was as conspicuous in indolent and amorous affairs. We judge of a horse, not only by his gallop, by his very walk, nay, and by seeing him stand in the stable. Amongst the functions of the soul, there are some of a low form. He who does not see her in those inferior offices also, does not fully discover her; and, perhaps, she is best known, when she moves her own natural pace. The wind of the passions takes most hold of her in her high flights; and, moreover, she wholly applies herself to, and exercises herself intirely upon every subject, and never handles more than one thing at a time, and that not according to it, but according to herself.

The mind is
discovered in all
its motions.

Things.

It gives things
what shape and
colour it pleases.

Things taken apart, have, perhaps, their weights, measures, and conditions; the soul forms them as she conceives of them. Death is terrible to Cicero, desirable to Cato, and indifferent to Socrates. Health, conscience, authority, knowledge, riches, beauty, and their contraries, all strip themselves at becoming the objects of our consideration, and receive a new robe, and of another fashion, from every distinct soul, and of what colour, as brown, bright, green, dark; and of what quality, as sharp, sweet, deep, or superficial, best pleases them; for they are not yet agreed upon any common standard of forms, rules, or proceedings; every one is a queen in her own dominions. Let us therefore no more excuse ourselves upon the external qualities of things, it belongs to us to give ourselves an account of them. Our good or ill has no other dependence but on ourselves. It is there that our offerings and our vows are due, and not to fortune, which has no power over our manners; on the contrary, they draw her in their train, and cast her in their own mould.

Montaigne's
opinion of the
game at chess.

Why shall not I judge of Alexander, ranting and drinking, as he sometimes did, at table? or if he played at chess, what string of his soul was not touched and employed by this idle childish game? I hate and avoid it, because it is not merry enough, but too serious a diversion, and I am ashamed to spend as much thought upon that, as would serve to much better uses. He did not more pump his brains to form his glorious expedition to the Indies; and another took not more pains to clear a passage, upon which depends the safety of all mankind. Do but see how we confound this silly diversion, if the soul be not all attention to it, and what a field is hereby opened for every one to know, and to make a right judgment of himself? I do not more thoroughly sift myself in any other posture.

The game may
help us to know
ourselves.

What passion are we exempted from in this game? Anger, spite, malice, impatience, and a vehement desire of getting the

the better in a concern wherein it were more excusable to be ambitious of being overcome : for to be eminent, and to excel above the common rate in frivolous things, is not graceful in a man of honour.

What I say in this example, may be said in all others. Every particle, every employment of man, exalts or accuses him, equally with any other. Democritus and Heraclitus were two philosophers of which, the first finding man's state ridiculous and vain, never appeared abroad, but with a jeering and laughing countenance : whereas Heraclitus, commiserating this condition of ours, appeared always with a sorrowful look and tears in his eyes.

Democritus and
Heraclitus their
different hu-
mours.

Alter

*Ridebat quoties à limine moverat unum
Protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius alter *.*

One always, when he o'er the threshold stept,
Laugh'd at the world, the other always wept.

I am clearly for the first humour ; not because it is more pleasant to laugh than to weep ; but because it is more scornful, and condemns us more than the other ; I think we can never be sufficiently despised to our desert. Compassion and bewailing seem to imply some esteem for the thing bemoaned : whereas the things we laugh at we judge of no value. I do not think that we are so unhappy, as we are vain, or so malicious as silly, so mischievous as trifling, nor so miserable as we are vile.

Therefore Diogenes, who past away his time in rolling himself in his tub, and snuffed up his nose at the great Alexander, esteeming us as flies, or bladders puffed up with wind, was a sharper and more penetrating judge, and consequently more to my taste, than Timon, surnamed the Man-Hater ; for what a man hates he lays to heart : this last was an enemy to all mankind ; he passionately

Diogenes a more
cruel judge than
Timon.

* Juv. sat. 10, ver. 28, &c.

wished

wished our ruin, and avoided our conversation as dangerous, wicked, and proceeding from depraved nature : the other valued us so little, that we could neither trouble nor infect him, by our contagion ; and left us to herd with one another, not out of fear, but contempt of our society ; concluding us as incapable of doing good, as ill.

Why Statilius refused to enter into the conspiracy against Cæsar.

Of the same strain was Statilius's answer*, when Brutus courted him into the conspiracy against Cæsar : “ He thought the enterprize was just ; but “ he did not think mankind so considerable as to “ serve a wise man's concern.” According to the doctrine of Hegeſias † ; who ſaid, “ That a wiſe man “ ought to do nothing but for himſelf, forasmuch as he “ only was worthy of it :” and to the ſaying of Theodorus, “ That it was not reaſonable a wiſe man ſhould “ hazard himſelf for the good of his country, and “ danger his wiſdom for the ſake of fools.” Our condition is as ridiculous as riſible.

CH A P. LI.

Of the Vanity of Words.

The art of rhetoric deceitful.

A Rhetorician of time paſt ‡, ſaid, that to make little things appear great, was his profeſſion. This is a ſhoe-maker, who can make a great ſhoe for a little foot. They would have whipped ſuch a fellow in Sparta, for making profeſſion of a lying and deceitful art : and I fancy, that Archidamus, who was king of that country, was a little ſurpriſed at the anſwer of Thucydides, when enquiring of him, which was the better wreſtler, Pericles ||, or he ; he replied, “ That it was hard to prove ; “ for when I have thrown him, (ſaid he,) he perſuades “ the ſpectators that he had no fall, and carries away “ the prize.

* Plutarch, in the life of Marcus Brutus, chap. 3.

† Diogenes Laertius in the life of Ariſtippus, lib. ii. ſect. 25. & ſect. 98.

‡ In the notable ſayings of the Lacedæmonians, in the article Ageſilaus.

|| Plutarch, in the life of Pericles, chap. 5.

They who disguise and paint women to give them false beauty, do less hurt; because it is no great loss, whether we see them in their natural complexions, or no: whereas the rhetoricians make it their business to deceive, not our sight, but our judgment, and to adulterate and corrupt the very essence of things. The republics that have maintained themselves in a regular and well-modelled government, such as those of Lacedæmon and Crete *, held orators in no very great esteem. Aristotle wisely defined rhetoric to be a science to persuade the people; Socrates and Plato †, called in an art to flatter and deceive: and those who deny it in the general description, verify it throughout in their precepts ‡. The Mahometans will not suffer their children to be instructed in it, as being useless; and the Athenians perceiving of how pernicious consequence the practice of it was, it being in their city of universal esteem, ordered the principal part, which is to move the affections, together with their exordiums and perorations, to be taken away. It is an engine invented, to manage and work upon a disorderly rabble, and that never is made use of but as physic for sickly states: in those, where the vulgar, or the ignorant, or both together, have had all the power, as in the cities of Athens, Rhodes, and Rome, and where the public affairs have been in a continual tempest, to such places have the orators always repaired. And, in truth, we shall find few persons in those republics, who pushed themselves into credit, without the assistance of eloquence. This was the main spring by which Pompey, Cæsar, Crassus, Lucullus, Lentulus, and Metellus, mounted to that high degree of authority, to which they at last arrived, making it of greater use to them than arms, contrary to the opinion of better times. For L. Volumnius speaking in public, in favour of Q. Fabius, and Pub. Decius, elected to the consular dignity: “These

* Sextus Empiricus advers. Mathem. lib. ii. p. 68, printed at Geneva, 1621.

† In Plato's dialogue entitled Gorgias, p. 287.

‡ Nothing is more true, of which whoever reads but Quintilian, may be convinced, and he that desires direct and circumstantial proofs of it, need only consult Sextus Empiricus, as above.

“are men, (said he,) born for war, great in execution, and
 “though no orators, are spirits truly consular *. The
 “subtle, eloquent, and learned, are only good for the
 “city, to make prætors of, to administer justice.”

Eloquence flourished most at Rome, when eloquence was most flourishing at Rome. when affairs were in the worst condition ; during the storm of a civil war, intestine commotions, as a rank but untilled soil bears the gayest weeds. By which it should seem, that a monarchical government has less need of it than any other : for the stupidity and facility, natural to the common people, and which render them subject to be managed, and led by the ears, at the sweet sound of this harmony, without weighing and considering the reality of things by force of reason ; this facility, I say is not so easily found in a single person, and it is also more easy, by good education and advice, to secure him from the impression of this poison. There never was any famous orator known to come out of Persia or Macedon.

I have said thus much on account of an Italian I have lately received into my service, who was steward or clerk of the kitchen, to the late cardinal Caraffa till his death. I made this fellow give me the history of his office : he fell to discourse of this palate science, with such a grave and magisterial countenance, as if he had been handling a profound point of divinity. He explained to me the difference of appetites ; that which a man has before he begins to eat, and those after the second and third service ; how merely to gratify it, and how to satisfy the first, and then to raise and sharpen it : the management of the sauces, first in general, and then specifying the qualities of the ingredients, and their effects : the differences of sallads, according to their seasons ; which ought to be served up hot, and which cold ; the manner of their garnishment and decoration, to render them also pleasing to the eye : after this he entered upon the order of the whole service, full of curious and important considerations.

* Tit. Liv. lib. x. cap. 22.

*Nec minimo sanè discrimine refert
Quo gestu leporès, & quo gallina secetur *.*

Nor with less criticism does observe
How we a hare, and how a hen should carve.

And all this puffed out in a pompous magnificent style;
the same that is used in discoursing of the government of
an empire. Which learned lecture of my man, brought
this of Terence into my memory.

*Hoc salsum est, hoc adustum est, hoc lautum est parum,
Illud rectè, iterùm sic memento, sedulo
Moneo quæ possum pro meâ sapentiâ
Postremò tanquam in speculum, in patinas, Demea,
Inspicere jubeo, & moneo quid factò usus sit †.*

This is too salt, this burnt, this is too plain;
That's well, remember to do so again.
Thus do I still advise to have things fit,
According to the talent of my wit.
And then (my Demea) I command my cook,
That into ev'ry dish he pry and look,
As if it were a mirror, and go on
To order all things, as they should be done.

Yet the Greeks themselves highly applauded the order
and disposition that Paulus Æmilius observed in the feast
he made for them, at his return from Macedon: but I
am not here treating of facts, but of words.

I do not know whether it may have the
same operation upon other men that it has
upon me; but when I hear our architects
thunder out their bombast words of pilasters, architraves,
and cornices, of the Corinthian and Doric orders, and
such like stuff, my imagination is presently possessed with
the palace of Appollidonius in Amadis de Gaul; when,
after all, I find them but the paltry pieces of my own
kitchen-door.

The language of
architects.

* Juv. sat. iv. ver. 123.

† Ter. Adelph. act. iii. sc. 4. ver. 62. &c.

Of grammarians. To hear men talk in metonymies, metaphors, allegories, and such other terms of grammar, would not one think it some rare and finical form of speaking? Another imposition akin to this, is to call the officers of our state by the lofty titles of the Romans, though they have no similitude of function, and even less authority and power.

And this also is as bad, which I doubt will one day turn to the reproach of this age of ours, viz. unworthily to confer upon any we think fit, the most glorious surnames with which antiquity honoured but one or two personages, in several ages. Plato carried away the surname of Divine, by so universal a consent that never any one repined at it. The Italians, who pretend, and with good reason, to be more sprightly and sensible than other nations, have lately honoured Aretine with the same title; in whose writings, save a tumid phrase, set out with smart turns, ingenious indeed, but far fetched and fantastic; and, besides the eloquence, (be it what it will) I see nothing in him above the common writers of his time, so far is he from resembling this ancient divinity. We also give the surname of Great, to princes that have no greatness in them more than common.

C H A P. LII.

Of the Parsimony of the Ancients.

Parsimony of Regulus.

ATTILIUS Regulus, general of the Roman army in Africa, in the height of all his glory and victories over the Carthaginians, wrote word to the republic*, that a certain hind he had left in trust with his whole estate, which was in all but seven acres of land, was run away with all his instruments of husbandry, intreating, therefore, that they would let him come home, that he might take

* Valer. Maxim. lib. iv. cap. 4. sect. 5.

care of his own affairs, lest his wife and children should be the sufferers: whereupon the senate appointed another to manage his estate, caused his losses to be made good, and ordered his family to be maintained at the public expence.

The elder Cato, returning consul from Spain, sold his field horse *, to save the money it would have cost in bringing him back by sea into Italy; and being governor of Sardinia, made all his visits on foot, without other train than one officer of the republic, who carried his robe, and a censor for sacrifices; and, for the most part, he carried his mail himself. He bragged that he had never worn a gown that cost above ten crowns, nor had ever sent above ten pence to the market for one day's provision; and that, as to his country-houses, he had not one that was rough cast on the outside.

And of Cato.

† Scipio Æmilianus, after two triumphs, and two consulships, went on an embassy with no more than seven servants in his train. It is said, that Homer had never more than one, Plato but three, and Zeno, founder of the sect of Stoics, none at all ‡. Tiberius Gracchus was allowed but five-pence half-penny a day, when employed as a commissioner for the public affairs, though he was, at that time, the first man in Rome §.

C H A P. LIII.

Of the Saying of Cæsar.

IF we would sometimes bestow a little consideration upon ourselves, and employ the time we spend in canvassing other men's actions, and prying into things that

Man's imperfection demonstrated by the inconsistency of his desires.

* Plutarch, in the life of Cato the Censor, chap. 3. Maxim. lib. iv. cap. 3. sect. 13.

† Valer.

‡ Seneca, in Consolat. ad Helvium, cap. 12.

§ Plutarch, in the life of Tiberius Gracchus, cap. 4.

But here Montaigne misemploys this passage, which makes nothing for his purpose; for Plutarch there says, expressly, that this little sum was allowed to Tiberius Gracchus, purely to vex and mortify him. See Amyot's translation.

are foreign to us, in examining our own hearts, we would soon perceive of what weak and defective materials this fabrick of ours is composed. Is it not a singular testimony of imperfection, that we cannot establish our satisfaction in any one thing, and that even our own fancy and desire, should deprive us of the power to chuse what is most necessary for us? A very good proof of this, is the great dispute that has ever been amongst the philosophers, of finding out man's sovereign good; a dispute which continues yet, and will eternally continue, without being decided or determined.

—*Dum abest quod avemus, id exuperare videtur,
Cætera, post aliud cum contigit illud, avemus,
Et sitis æqua tenet **.

Still with desire thro' fancy's regions tost,
We seek new joys, and prize the absent most.

Whatever it is that falls into our knowledge and possession, we find that it satisfies not, and still pant after things to come, and unknown, because the present do not satiate us; not that, in my judgment, they have not in them wherewith to glut us, but because we seize them with an unruly and immoderate gripe.

*Nam cum vidit hic ad visum quæ flagitat usus,
Et per quæ possent vitam consistere tutam,
Omnia jam firmè mortalibus esse parata,
Divitiis homines Et honore Et laude potentes
Afficere, atque bonâ natorum excellere famâ,
Nec minùs esse domi cuiquam tamen anxia corda,
Atque animum venterque regi servire querelis:
Intellexit ibi vitium vas facere ipsum,
Omniaque illius vitia corrumpiter intùs
Quæ collata foris, Et commoda quæque venirent †.*

For when he saw all things that had regard
To life's subsistence, for mankind prepar'd,

* Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 1095.

† Lucret. lib. vi. ver. 9, &c.

That men in wealth and honours did abound,
 That with a noble race their joys were crown'd;
 That yet they groan'd, with cares and fears oppress'd,
 Each finding a disturber in his breast;
 He then perceiv'd the fault lay hid in man,
 In whom the bane of his own bliss began.

Our appetite is irresolute and fickle, it can neither keep nor enjoy any thing with a good grace: and man concluding it to be the fault of the things he is possessed of, fills himself with, and feeds himself upon, the idea of things he neither knows nor understands, to which he devotes his hopes and his desires, and pays them reverence and honour, according to the saying of Cæsar, *Communi fit vitio naturæ, ut invisibilibus latitantibus atque incognitis rebus magis confidamus, vehementiusque exterrcamur* *. “It is the common vice of nature, that “we have most confidence in, and the greatest fear of “things unseen, concealed, and unknown.”

C H A P. LIV.

Of Vain Subtilties.

THERE are a sort of vain and frivolous subtilties, from which men sometimes expect to derive applause; as the poets who compose whole poems, with every line beginning with the same letter: we see the shapes of eggs, globes, wings, and hatchets, cut out by the ancient Greeks, by the measure of their verses, making them longer or shorter, to represent such or such a figure. Of this nature was his employment, who made it his business to compute into how many several orders the letters of the alphabet might be transposed, and found out that incredible number mentioned in Plutarch †.

Poetry of an odd fancy.

* De Bello Civili, lib. ii. † This was Alexander, as may be seen in Quintil. Institut. Orat. lib. ii. cap. 20. where he defines *Ματαιοτεχνία*,

Frivolous industry rewarded as it deserved.

I am mightily pleased with the humour of the gentleman, who, having a man brought before him, that had learned to throw a grain of millet, with such dexterity, as never to miss the eye of a needle; and being afterwards intreated to give something for the reward of so rare a performance, he pleasantly, and, in my opinion, very justly, ordered two or three bushels of the same grain to be delivered to him, that he might not want wherewith to exercise so famous an art. It is a strong evidence of a weak judgment, for men to approve of things for their being rare and new, or even for being difficult, when, at the same time, they are good for nothing at all.

Instances of things that are kept up by the two extremities.

I come just now from playing with my own family, at who could find out the most things that are held by their two extremities; as, Sire, which is a title given to the greatest person in the nation, viz. the king, and also to the vulgar, as tradesmen; but never to men of the intermediate ranks. The women of great quality are called Madames; gentlewomen of the middle rank, Mademoiselles; and the meanest sort of women, Madames, as the first. The canopies of state over tables are not permitted, but in the palaces of princes, and taverns*. Democritus said, that the gods and the beasts were quicker of apprehension than men, who are in the middle story. The Romans wore the same habit at funerals and feasts.

"to be a certain unnecessary imitation of art, which really does neither good nor harm, but is as unprofitable and ridiculous, as was the labour of that man, who had so perfectly learnt to cast small pease through the eye of a needle, at a good distance, that he never missed one, and was justly rewarded for it, as it is said, by Alexander, who saw the performance, with a bushel of pease." M. Barbeyrac, to whom I am obliged for this passage, observes, that Montaigne has not told this story very exactly, either because his memory failed him, or because, perhaps, he took it from some other historian, though Quintilian seems to be the only original author of it.

* Plutarch, De Placitis Philosophorum, lib. iv. ch. 10.

It is most certain, that extreme fear, and extreme ardour of courage, equally bind and relax the belly. The nickname of Trembling, with which they surnamed Sancho, the XIIth king of Navarre, sufficiently informeth, that valour will cause a trembling in the limbs, as well as fear. The friends of that king, or of some other person, who, upon the like occasion, was wont to be in the same disorder, tried to compose him, by representing the danger he was going to run, less than it was: "You don't know me," said he, "for could my flesh know the danger my courage will presently carry it into, it would actually creep upon my bones."

The very same effect produced by fear and by extraordinary courage.

The faintness that surprises us from frigidity, or disgusts in the exercises of Venus, is also occasioned by a too violent desire, and an immoderate heat.

Extreme coldness, and extreme heat, boil and roast. Aristotle says, that fows of lead will melt and run with cold, and in the extremity of winter, as well as with a vehement heat.

Desire and satiety fill all the gradations, above and below pleasure, with grief.

Ignorance and wisdom meet in the same centre of sentiment and resolution, as to the suffering of human accidents; the wise controul and triumph over ill, the others know it not: these last are, as a man may say, on this side of accidents, the other are beyond them; who, after having well weighed and considered their qualities, and measured and judged them as they are, by virtue of a vigorous soul they mount above their reach. They disdain and trample them under foot, having a firm and well fortified soul, against which the darts of fortune coming to strike, they must of necessity rebound, and be blunted. The ordinary and middle condition of men, lies betwixt these two extremities, consisting of such as perceive evils, feel them, and are not able to support them.

Wisdom and ignorance attain to the same ends.

Infancy and extreme old age, meet in the weakness of the brain; avarice and profusion center in the like desire of gain.

Two kinds of ignorance.

A man may say, with some colour of truth, that there is an abecedarian ignorance that precedes knowledge, and a doctoral ignorance that comes after it; an ignorance that knowledge creates and begets, just as it dispatches and destroys the former.

The fitness of plain understandings to Christianity.

Persons of mean understandings, not so inquisitive, nor so well instructed, are made good Christians; and, by reverence and obedience, implicitly believe, and abide by their belief.

Mean understandings liable to err.

In moderate understandings, and the middle sort of capacities, the error of opinions is begotten, and there is some colour of reason for imputing our walking on in the old beaten path, to simplicity and stupidity, meaning us who have not informed ourselves by study.

Men of the greatest understanding, the completest Christians.

The nobler souls, more settled and clear-sighted, make up another sort of true believers; who, by a long and religious investigation of truth, penetrate into the deeper, and more abstruse parts of the scriptures, and discover the mysterious and divine secret of our ecclesiastical polity. And yet we see some, who, by this middle step, are arrived to that supreme degree, with marvellous fruit and confirmation, as to the utmost limit of Christian intelligence, and enjoying their victory with consolation, thanksgiving, reformation of manners, and great modesty. I do not intend with these to rank some others, who to clear themselves from all suspicion of their former errors, and to satisfy us that they are true converts, render themselves extremely indiscreet and unjust, in the carrying on our cause, and, by that means, blemish it with the imputation of violence.

The simple peasants are a good people, and so are the philosophers: men of strong and clear natural parts, enriched with ample instruction in the useful sciences. The Mongrels, who have disdained the first form of the ignorance of letters, and have not been able to attain to the other, (sitting betwixt two stools, as I, and many more do) are dangerous, foolish, and impertinent; these are they that trouble the world. And therefore it is that I, for my own part, retreat as much as I can towards my first and natural station, from whence I so vainly attempted to advance.

The mere peasant and the philosopher good men.

The vulgar, and purely natural poetry, has certain proprieties and graces, by which it may compare with the most beautiful poetry perfected by art; as is evident in our Gascon ballads, and in the songs that are brought us from nations which know no science, nor so much as writing.

Popular poetry comparable to the most perfect.

The middle sort of poetry, betwixt these two, is despised, and of no value nor honour. But forasmuch as after a path is laid open to the fancy, I have found, as it commonly falls out, that what we took for a rare and difficult subject and exercise, is not so; and that after the invention is once warm, it finds out an infinite number of parallel examples, I shall only add this one: that were these *Essays* of mine worthy of criticism, it might, I think, fall out, that they would not much take with common and vulgar capacities, nor be very acceptable to those that are singular and excellent; for those that are the first would not understand them enough, and the last too much, and so they might hover in the middle region.

Middling poetry intolerably.

Montaigne's opinion of his *Essays*.

C H A P. LV.

Of Smells.

Alexander's
sweat had an
agreeable smell.

IT has been reported of some, particularly of Alexander the Great*, that their sweat diffused an odoriferous smell, occasioned by some rare and extraordinary constitution, of which Plutarch, and others, have been inquisitive into the cause. But the ordinary constitution of human bodies is quite otherwise, and their best quality is to be exempt from smells: nay, that is the sweetest of all breaths, which yields no offensive smell, like the breaths of healthful children: which made Plautus say,

Mulier tūm benè olet, ubi nihil olet †.

That woman we a sweet one call,
Whose body yields no scent at all.

Foreign per-
fumes create a
suspicion.

And as for those who use exotic perfumes, there is good reason to suspect they endeavour thereby to conceal some disagreeable effluvia from themselves, according to that of Mr. Johnson, which, without offence to Monsieur de Montaigne, I will here presume to insert, it being at least as well said, as any of those he quotes out of the ancient poets,

Still to be neat, still to be drest,
As you were going to a feast,
Still to be powder'd, still perfum'd:
Lady, it is to be presum'd,
Though art's hid causes are not found,
All is not sweet, all is not found ‡.

Some of the ancient poets have even asserted that to smell sweet, is to stink: as may be judged by these following,

* Plutarch, in the Life of Alexander, chap. 1.
act. i. sc. 3. ver. 117.

‡ Ben Johnson.

† Plaut. Mostebl.

*Rides nos, Coracine, nil olentes :
Malo quam bene olere, nil clere*.*

Because thou, Coracinus, still dost go
With musk and ambergrease perfumed so,
We under thy contempt, forsooth, must fall ;
I'd rather than smell sweet, not smell at all ;

And elsewhere,

Posthume, non benè olet, qui benè semper olet †.

He does not naturally smell well,
Who always of perfumes does smell.

I am nevertheless a strange lover of good smells, and as much abominate the ill ones, which I reach at a greater distance, I think, than other men :

*Namque sagaciùs unus odoror,
Polypus, an gravis kirsutis cubit hircus in olis,
Quam canis acer ubi lateat sus ‡.*

For I can smell a putrid polypus,
Or the rank arm-pits of a red-hair'd fufs,
As soon as best nos'd hound the stinking stie,
Where the wild boars in beechen forest lie.

Of smells, the most simple and natural seem to be most pleasing. This is what the ladies ought chiefly to regard. In the wildest parts of Barbary, the Scythian women, after bathing, were wont to besmear their faces, and whole bodies, with a certain odoriferous drug, growing in their own territories ; which being cleansed off, when they came near the men, they were found perfumed and sleek : it is not to be believed, how strangely all sorts of odours cleave to me, and how apt my skin is to imbibe them. He that complains of nature, that she has not furnished mankind with a vehicle to convey

* Mart. lib. vi. epig. 55. ver. 4, 5.

† Id. lib. ii. ep. 12. ver. 4.

‡ Hor. Ep. lib. vi. ode 12. ver. 4.

smells to the nose, were to blame; for they will carry themselves; especially to me: my very mustachios, which are full grown, perform that office; for if I stroke them but with my gloves, or handkerchief, the scent will remain in them a whole day: they used to discover formerly where I had been; the close, luscious, eager, and melting kisses of youth, then left a sweetness upon my lips, for several hours after. And yet I have found myself very little subject to epidemic diseases, that are caught, either by conversing with the diseased, or bred by the contagion of the air; I have very well escaped from those of my time, of which there have been several sorts in our cities and armies. We read of Socrates, that though he never quitted Athens, during the frequent returns of the plague to that city, he only was never infected.

The origin of
the use of incense in
churches.

Physicians might (I believe,) extract greater utility from odours, than they do; for I have often observed they cause an alteration in me, and work upon my spirits according to their several virtues; which makes me approve of what is said, namely, that the use of incense and perfumes in churches, so ancient, and so universally received in all nations, and religions, was intended to cheer us, and to rouse and purify the senses, the better to fit us for contemplation.

Meat seasoned
with odoriferous
drugs.

I could have been glad, the better to judge of it, to have tasted the culinary compounds of those cooks who had the knack of perfuming their provisions, as was particularly observed at the table of the king of Tunis, who in our days landed at Naples, to have an interview with Charles the emperor. His dishes were stuffed with odoriferous drugs, to such an expence, that the cookery of one peacock, and two pheasants, amounted to a hundred ducats, dressed after their fashion. And when they were carved, not only the dining-room, but all the apartments of his palace, and the adjoining streets were filled with an aromatic vapour, which did not presently vanish. My chief care in chusing my lodging, is always to avoid a thick
and

and stinking air; and those beautiful cities of Venice and Paris, have very much lessened the fondness I had for them, the one by the stench of her marshes, and the other of her mud.

C H A P. LVI.

Of Prayers.

I Propose formless and undetermined fancies, like those who publish subtle questions, to be disputed upon in the schools, not to establish truth, but to seek it: and I submit them to the better judgment of those, whose office it is to regulate, not my writings and actions only, but my opinions. Let what I here set down meet with correction or applause, it will be alike welcome and useful to me, who condemn it for absurd and impious, if any thing should be found, through ignorance or inadvertency, couched in this rhapsody, contrary to the sacred resolutions and prescriptions of the Roman Catholic church, in which I was born, and in which I will die. And yet, always submitting to the authority of their censure, who have an absolute power over me, I thus venture, at random, to treat of every thing, as I do the present subject.

I know not if I am deceived; but since, by a special favour of the divine goodness, a certain form of prayer has been prescribed and dictated to us, word by word, from the mouth of God himself, I have ever been of opinion, that we ought to have it in more frequent use than we yet have; and, if I were worthy to advise, at the sitting down to, and rising from our tables at our rising from and going to bed, and in every particular action, wherein it is a custom to pray, I would that Christians should make use of the Lord's prayer, if not alone, yet at least always. The church may lengthen and diversify prayers, according to the necessity of our instruction; for I know very well, that it is always the same

Pater-noster, a prayer which Christians ought constantly to use.

in substance, and the same thing : but yet such a preference ought to be given to that prayer, that the people should have it continually in their mouths ; for it is most certain, that all necessary petitions are comprehended in it, and that it is infinitely proper for all occasions. It is the only prayer I use in all places, and what I repeat instead of changing ; whence it also happens, that I have no other by heart so much as that.

Men ought not to call upon God indifferently upon all occasions.

It just now comes into my mind, from whence we should derive that error of having recourse to God in all our designs and enterprizes, of applying to him in all our wants, and in all places where our weakness stands in need of support, without considering whether the occasion be just or otherwise, and of invoking his name and power, in what estate soever we are, or what action we are engaged in, how vicious soever : he is, indeed, our sole protector, and can do all things for us : but though he is pleased to honour us with his paternal care, he is, notwithstanding, as just as he is good and mighty ; for he oftner exercises his justice than his power, and favours us according to that, and not according to our petitions.

Plato, in his laws, makes three credenda injurious to the gods. 1. That there is none. 2. That they concern not themselves about our affairs. And, 3. That they never deny any thing to our vows, offerings, and sacrifices *. The first of these errors (according to his opinion) never continued invincible in any man, from his infancy to his old age ; the other two, he confesses, men might be obstinate in.

The soul must be quite pure when it prays to God.

God's justice, and his power, are inseparable ; and therefore in vain we invoke his power in an unjust cause : we are to have our souls pure, at that moment at least, wherein we pray to him, and free from all vicious passions, otherwise we ourselves present him the rods wherewith to chastise us. Instead of repairing any thing we have done amiss, we double the wickedness and the of-

* Plato de Legibus, lib. x. p. 664.

fence, whilst we offer to him, to whom we are to sue for pardon, an address full of irreverence and hatred. Which makes me not very apt to applaud those whom I observe to be so frequent on their knees, if the actions before and after the prayer, do not give me some evidence of reformation and amendment.

————— *Si nocturnus adulter*
Tempora sanctonico velas adoperta cucullo.*

With night adulteries, if being foul,
Thou veil'st thy guilty forehead with a cowl:

The state of a man, that mixes devotion with an execrable life, seems, in some sort, more to be condemned; than that of a man who is all of a piece, and dissolute throughout; yet our church denies admittance to, and communion with men who are obstinate and incorrigible in any notorious impiety.

We pray by custom, and for fashion's sake; or rather we read, or pronounce our prayers aloud, which is no better than a shew of devotion: and I am scandalized to see a man cross himself thrice at the Benedicite, and as often at saying grace, (and the more, because it is a sign which I have in great veneration, and constant use, even when I yawn and stretch) and yet employ the rest of the day in malice, avarice, and injustice; devoting one hour to God, the rest to the devil, as if by commutation and composition. It is a wonder to see actions, so various in themselves, linked in such a chain as not to suffer any alteration, even upon the very confines and passes from the one to the other. What a prodigious conscience must that be, that can be at quiet within itself, whilst it harbours in the same breast both the crime and the judge, without their jarring? A man whose brain is continually working upon whoredom, which he knows to be odious in the sight of God, what does he say when he addresses him? He draws back, but

Praying to God,
only for fashion
sake, wherein
blameable.

* Juv. sat. 8. ver. 144.

suddenly relapses. If the awe of the divine justice, and the presence of his Maker, did, as he pretends, strike and chastise his soul, how short soever the repentance might be, the very fear of offending him, would so often present itself to his imagination, that he would instantly subdue those vices which are most natural and habitual to him.

What we must think of the prayers of those who obstinately persist in vicious habits.

But what shall we say of those, who settle their whole course of life, upon the profit and emolument of a sin which they know to be mortal? How many trades and vocations have we admitted and countenanced amongst us, whose very essence is vicious? And he that confessed to me, that he had all his lifetime professed and practised a religion, in his opinion damnable, and contrary to his conscience, only to preserve his credit, and the honour of his employments, how could his courage bear such a conviction? What can men say of the divine justice upon this subject? Their repentance consisting in a visible and sensible reparation, they have no way to prove it both to God and man. Are they so impudent as to sue for remission, without making satisfaction, and without repentance? I look upon these in the same condition with the first; but the obstinacy is not here so easy to be overcome. This contrariety and volubility of opinion, so sudden and violent as they feign it to be, is a kind of miracle to me. They represent to us the state of an intolerable anxiety of mind. It seemed to me a fantastic imagination in those, who, some years past, were wont to reproach every man of shining parts, who made profession of the Roman Catholic religion, that it was but feigned; maintaining, moreover, to do him honour forsooth, that whatever he might pretend to the contrary, he could not but, in his heart, be of their reformed opinion. An untoward disease, that a man should be so rivetted to his own belief, as to fancy, that it is impossible to believe otherwise than he does; and yet worse in this, that he should entertain an opinion, that any man so qualified, should prefer any present disparity of fortune,

to the promises of eternal life, and the menaces of eternal damnation. They may believe me, could any thing have tempted my youth, the ambition of encountering the danger and difficulties that attended the late commotions, had not been one of the least motives.

It is not without very good reason, in my opinion, that the church interdicts the promiscuous, rash, and indiscreet use of the sacred and divine songs, with which the Holy Ghost inspired king David. We ought not to mix God in our actions, but with the highest reverence and honour. That poesy is too divine to be employed only to exercise the lungs, and to delight our ears. It ought to come from the soul, and not from the tongue. It is not fit that a boy in a shop, amongst his vain and frivolous thoughts, should be permitted to entertain, and divert himself with psalmody. Neither is it right, to see the Holy Bible, containing the sacred mysteries of our belief, rummaged in a hall or a kitchen. They were formerly mysteries, but are now become things of sport and pastime. It is too serious, and too venerable a study, to be exercised cursorily and hastily. The reading of the scripture ought to be a temperate and premeditated act, and to which men should always add this devout preface, *Sursum corda*, preparing even the body to so humble and composed a gesture and countenance, as to evidence a particular veneration and attention. Neither is it a book for every one to study, but those only who are devoted to it by the divine call. The wicked and ignorant grow worse and worse by it. It is not a story to tell, but a history to fear, reverence, and adore. Are not they than pleasant men, who think they have rendered this fit for the people's handling, by translating it into the vulgar tongue? does the understanding of all therein contained, only stick at words? I venture to say further, that by this little approach to it, they are the farther off. Pure ignorance, and implicit faith in another's exposition, were wiser, and more salutiferous, than this vain and verbal knowledge, which has only

How, and by whom, David's psalms ought to be sung.

proved the nurse of temerity and presumption. And I do further believe, that the liberty every one has taken to disperse so sacred and important a writ into so many idioms, carries with it a great deal more of danger than utility. The Jews, Mahometans, and almost all others, have espoused, and reverence the language wherein their mysteries were originally conceived, and have not without colour of reason, forbid the version or alteration of them in any other. Are we sure, that in Biscay, and in Brittany, there are competent judges of this affair, to establish this translation into their own language? The Catholic church has not a more difficult and solemn judgment to make. In preaching and speaking the interpretation is vague, free, mutable, and of only a part; * consequently it is not the same. One of our Greek historians justly blames the age he lived in, for that the secrets of the christian religion were dispersed through his country, into the hands of the meanest mechanics, to argue upon, and determine, according to his own sense; and that we ought to be much ashamed, we, who by God's grace enjoy the pure mysteries of piety, to suffer them to be prophaned by the mouths of the ignorant vulgar; considering, that the Gentiles expressly forbid Socrates, Plato, and the other, sages, to enquire into, or talk of the things committed to the priests of Delphos. The same historian says, moreover, that the factions of princes, upon theological points, are not armed with zeal, but fury; that zeal partakes of the divine wisdom and justice, and governs itself with regularity and moderation; but degenerates into hatred and envy, and produces tares and nettles, instead of corn and wine, when it is conducted by human passions. It was truly said of another, who advising the emperor

* "That is to say, this, by consequence, is not to compare with a "complete translation of the Holy Scriptures, which engages to determine, and fix the sense of this whole sacred book." Before I could be satisfied in my own mind, whether this paraphrase expressed Montaigne's meaning, I turned to consult Mr. Cotton's English translation; but I found that this entire sentence from the words "Preaching and speaking" was omitted, which may serve for my excuse, if my paraphrase be not exact.

Theodosius told, him, that disputes did not so much rock the schisms of the church asleep, as it roused them, and animated heresies; that therefore all contentions, and logical disputations were to be avoided, and men were absolutely to acquiesce in the prescriptions and formulas of faith, established by the ancients. And the emperor Andronicus, finding some great men at high words in his palace with Lapodius, about one of our articles of great importance, gave them a severe check, and threatened to cause them to be thrown into the river, if they did not desist. The very women and children, now a-days, take upon them to dispute with the oldest and most experienced men about the ecclesiastical laws: whereas, the first of those of Plato*, forbids them to enquire so much as into the civil laws, which were to take place as divine ordinances: and, allowing the old men to † confer amongst themselves, or with the magistrate, about those things, it adds provided it be not in the presence of young and profane persons. A bishop has left in writing, that, at the other end of the world, there is an isle, by the ancients, called Dioscorides‡, bearing all sorts of trees and fruits, and in a healthy air; the inhabitants of which are christians, having churches and altars that are only adorned with crucifixes, without any other images; great observers of fasts and feasts; exact payers of the tythes to the priest, and so chaste, that none of them are permitted to have to do with more than one woman in his life: as to the rest, so content are they with their condition, that, though environed with the sea, they know nothing of navigation; and so simple that they understand not one syllable of the religion wherein they are so devout. And, though it is incredible to such as do not know it, the Pagans, who are such zealous idolaters,

* De Legibus, lib. i. page 569. † In freely censuring whatever they find blame-worthy, because the discovery of what is bad in things, is good, such knowledge giving an opportunity for their redress, to such as examine what is said, not as a malicious critic, but with a spirit of equity. Plato, De Legib. i. p. 569.

‡ An island of the Red Sea, supposed to be the same with that now called Zocotora. See Bayle's Dictionary, in the article DIOSCORIDES.

know nothing more of their gods than their bare names, and their statues. The ancient beginning of Menalippus, a tragedy of Euripides, ran thus * ;

O Jupiter, thy name alone,
Not what thou art, to me is known.

Theology stands
best by itself.

I have known also, in my time, some men's writings found fault with, for being purely human and philosophical, without any mixture of divinity ; and yet whoever should, on the contrary, say, that divine doctrine, as queen and regent of the rest, better keeps her state apart ; that she ought to be sovereign throughout, not subsidiary and suffragan : and that, perhaps grammatical, rhetorical, and logical examples, may elsewhere be more suitably chosen, as also the arguments for the stage and public entertainments, than from so sacred a matter ; that divine arguments are considered with greater veneration and attention, when by themselves, and in their own proper style, than when mixed with human discourses ; that it is a fault much more often observed, that the divines write too humanly, than that the humanists write not theologically enough : (philosophy, says St. Chrysostom, has long been banished the holy schools, as an handmaid altogether useless, and thought unworthy to peep, so much as in passing by the door, into the repository of the sacred treasures of celestial doctrines) and that the human way of speaking, is of a much lower form, and ought not to be clothed with the dignity, authority, and majesty of divine eloquence : I say, whoever, on the contrary, should object all this, would not be without some reason on his side. Let who will, *verbis indisciplinatis* †, talk of fortune, destiny, accident, good and evil hap, the gods, and other such like phrases, according to his humour ; I, for my part, propose fancies merely human, and merely my

* Plutarch's Treatise of Love, ch. 12.

† In vulgar and unhallowed terms. These two Latin words, which I thus translate, are taken from St. Austin de Civitate Dei, lib. x. cap. 29,

own, and that simply, and separately considered, as human fancies, not as determined by any decree of heaven, and incapable of doubt or dispute: matters of opinion, not matters of faith, things which I discourse of, according to my own capacity, not what I believe according to God; which also I do after a laical, not clerical, and yet always after a very religious manner as lads propose their exercises not to instruct, but to be instructed. And it were as rational to affirm, that an edict, enjoining all people, (perhaps enjoining silence on me too) but such as are public professors of it, to be very reserved in writing of religion, would carry with it some shew of utility and justice.

I have been told, that even those who are not of our church, do nevertheless, amongst themselves, expressly forbid the name of God to be used in common discourse: not so much as by way of interjection, exclamation, affirmation, or comparison; and I think them in the right. Upon what occasion soever, we call upon God to accompany and assist us, it ought always to be done with the greatest reverence and devotion.

God's name
ought not to be
used in common
discourse.

There is, if I mistake not, a passage in Xenophon, where he tells us, that we ought the more seldom to call upon God, because it is hard to compose our souls to such a degree of calmness, penitence, and devotion, as it ought to be in at such time, otherwise our prayers are not only vain and fruitless, but vicious, “forgive us (we say) our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.” What do we say by this petition, but that we present him a soul free from all rancour and revenge? And yet we invoke God's assistance in our vices, and invite him in our unjust designs.

God ought to be
seldom prayed
to, and why.

*Quæ nisi seductis nequeas committere divis *.*

And only to the gods a-part,

Whisper the wishes of the heart †

* Perf. Sat. 2. ver. 4.

† Seneca has very solidly censured this extravagance of mankind, at the end of epist. 10. “How great is the

The covetous man prays for the vain and superfluous preservation of his riches; the ambitious, for victory, and the conduct of his fortune: The thief calls God to his assistance, to deliver him from the dangers and difficulties that obstruct his wicked designs; or returns him thanks for the facility he has met with in cutting a traveller's throat. At the door of the house they are going to storm, or break into by force of a petard, they fall to prayers for success, having their intention and hopes full of cruelty, avarice, and luxury.

*Hoc ipsum quo tu Jovis aurem impellere tentas,
Dic agedum Staius, prob Jupiter, ô bone, clamet,
Jupiter, at sese non clamet Jupiter ipse *?*

Well, what you urg'd to Jove before, impart
To Staius now, e'en Staius' self would start;
O Jove, O gracious Jove, would he exclaim:
And must not Jove himself, then do the same?

Margaret, queen of Navarre, tells of a young prince (who, though she does not name him, is easily enough, by his great quality, to be known,) who going upon an amorous assignation, to lie with an advocate's wife of Paris, his way thither being through a church, he never passed that holy place, going to or returning from this exercise, but he always kneeled down to pray. What it was he implored the divine favour for, while his soul was full of such virtuous meditations, I leave you to judge: this, nevertheless, the queen instances as a testimony of singular devotion. But this is not the only proof that women are not very fit to treat of theological points. True prayer, and a religious reconciling of ourselves to Almighty God, cannot enter into an impure soul, which is at that very instant subject to the dominion of Satan. He who calls God to his assistance, whilst he is in a train

“folly of mankind! they whisper the most execrable prayers to the
“gods, and if any mortal lend an ear they are silent, for fear men
“should know what they mutter to the Deity.”

* Pers. sat. 2, ver. 21,

of vice does as if a cut-purse should call a magistrate to help him, or like those who bring in the name of God to the attestation of a lie.

—————*Tacito mala vota susurro
Concipimus* *.

In silent thoughts we guilty prayers prefer.

Few men durst publish the secret petitions they make to God,

*Haud cuivis promptum est, murmurque humilesque susurros
Tollere de templis, Et aperto vivere voto* †.

Few from their pious mumblings dare depart,
And make profession of their inmost heart.

This is the reason why the Pythagoreans would have their prayers always public, to be heard by every one, to the end they might not petition for things indecent or unjust, as he did,

—————*Clare cum dixit, Apollo,
Labra movet metuens audiri : Pulchra Laverna,
Da mihi fallere, da justum, sanctumque videri,
Noctem peccatis, Et fraudibus objice nubem* ‡.

Who with loud voice pronounc'd Apollo's name;
But when the following prayers he preferr'd
Scarce moves his lips for fear of being heard.

“Beauteous Laverno, my petition hear;

“Let me with truth and sanctity appear:

“Oh! give me to deceive and with a veil

“Of darkness and of night, my crimes conceal!”

The gods severely punished the prayers of Oedipus, in granting them; he had prayed, that his children might, amongst themselves, determine the succession to his throne by arms; and was so miserable, as to see himself

* Lucan. lib. v. ver. 104, 105.

‡ Hor. lib. i. ep. 16. ver. 59, &c.

† Persius, sat. 2. ver. 6, 7.

taken at his word. We are not to pray, that all things may go as we would have them, but as it shall please the divine wisdom.

Prayer how abused.

We seem, in truth, to make use of our prayers, as of a kind of gibberish, and as those do who employ holy words about forceries and magical operations : and as if we made account, that the effect of them depended upon the contexture, the sound and series of words, or upon the composing of the countenance. For having the soul contaminated with concupiscence, not touched with repentance, or comforted by any late reconciliation with Almighty God, we go to present him such words as the memory suggests to the tongue, and hope from thence to obtain the remission of our sins. There is nothing so easy, so mild, and so favourable as the divine law ; it calls us to it, guilty and abominable as we are ; extends its arms, and receives us into its bosom, as foul and polluted as we at present are, and are like to be for the future. But then, in return, we are to look upon it with a respectful eye, we are to receive this pardon with thanksgiving, and, for that instant at least, wherein we address ourselves to God, to have the soul sorry for its faults, and at variance with those passions, that seduced her to offend him ; for neither the gods, nor good men (says Plato) will accept the present of a wicked man.

*Immunis aram si tetigit manus,
Non sumptuosa blandior hostia
Mollibit averfos penates,
Farre pio, & saliente micâ*.*

The pious off'ring of a piece of bread,
If on the altar by a pure hand laid,
Than costly hecatombs, will better please
Th' offended gods, and their just wrath appease,

* Hor. lib. iii. ode 23. ver. 17, &c.

C H A P. LVII.

Of Age.

I Cannot allow of our way of establishing the duration of life. I see that the wise contract it very much, in comparison of the common opinion. What (said the younger Cato to those would stay his hand from killing himself,) am I now of an age to be reproached that I go out of the world too soon †? and yet he was but forty-eight years old. He thought that to be a mature and really an advanced age, considering how few arrive to it : and they who soothing their thoughts with I know not what course, which they call natural, promise themselves some years beyond it, could they be privileged from the fatal accidents, to which every one is by nature exposed, might have some reason so to do. What an idle conceit is it, to expect to die of a mere decay of strength, attending extreme old age, and to propose to ourselves no shorter lease of life than that, considering it as a kind of death of all others the most rare and uncommon? We call this only a natural death, as if it were contrary to nature, to see a man break his neck with a fall, be drowned in shipwreck at sea ; or snatched away with a pleurisy, or the plague ; and, as if our ordinary condition of life did not expose us to all these inconveniences. Let us no more flatter ourselves with these fine words : we ought rather, at a venture, to call that natural, which is general, common, and universal.

Age of Cato
when he killed
himself.

The natural
course of man's
life.

To die of old age, is a death rare, extraordinary, and singular, by so much the less natural than the other deaths, and therefore the less to be hoped for. It is

To die of old
age, a thing singular and extraordinary.

* Plutarch, in the life of Cato of Utica, cap. 20.

indeed the boundary of life, beyond which we are not to pass; it is a lease which nature grants by particular favour, perhaps, to one only, in the space of two or three ages: discharging him from all the traverses and difficulties she had strewed in the mid-way of this long career. And therefore my opinion is, that when once forty years old, we should consider our time of life, as an age to which very few arrive: for seeing that men do not usually last so long, it is a sign that we are pretty well advanced; and since we have exceeded the bounds, which make the common measure of life, we ought not to expect to go much further. Having escaped so many pits of death, whereinto we have seen so many other men fall, we should acknowledge that so extraordinary a fortune, as that which has hitherto kept us above ground beyond the ordinary term of life, is not likely to continue long.

The defect of the laws, in making it so late in life before they admit men to the management of their estates.

It is a false notion that our very laws are guilty of, which do not allow that a man is capable of managing his own estate till he be twenty-five years old, whereas he will have much ado to manage his life so long. Augustus* cut off five years from the ancient Roman standard, and declared, that thirty years was an age sufficient to be a judge. Servius Tullius excused gentlemen of above forty-seven years of age, from the fatigues of war: Augustus dismissed them at forty-five: though methinks it seems a little unreasonable that men should be sent home to their fire-sides, till fifty-five or sixty years of age. I should be of opinion, that our vocation and employment, should be as far as possible extended for the public good: but I think it a fault on the other hand, that we are not employed soon enough. This emperor was arbiter of the whole world at nineteen, and yet would have a man to be thirty before he could be fit to bear the lowest office.

* Suetonius, in the Life of Augustus, sect. 32.

For my part I believe, our understandings are ripe at twenty, such as they ought to be, and ever will be capable of. A mind that did not by that time give evident earnest of its force *, never after gave proof of it. Natural parts and excellencies produce what they have of vigorous and fine, by that term or never.

A man at twenty years old gives proof of his capacity.

They say in Dauphiny,

*Se l'espina non picquo quan nai,
A peno que piquo giamai.*

“ If the thorn does not prick then, it will scarce
“ ever prick.”

Of all the great actions of man I ever heard or read of, of what sort soever, I have observed, both in former ages, and our own, more performed before the age of thirty, than after; and often too in the lives of the very same men. May I not safely instance in those of Hannibal, and his great adversary Scipio? The better half of their lives, they lived upon the glory they had acquired in their youth; they were great men after, it is true, in comparison of others; but by no means, in comparison of themselves. As to my own part, I do certainly believe, that since that age, both my understanding, and my constitution have rather decayed, than improved, and declined rather than advanced. It is possible, that with those who make the best use of their time, knowledge and experience may increase with their years; but the vivacity, quickness, and steadiness, and other parts of us, of much greater importance, and much more essentially our own, languish and decay.

What age is capable of the finest actions.

———*Ubi jam validis quassatum est viribus ævi,
Corpus, Et obtusis ceciderunt viribus artus,
Claudicat ingenium, delirat linguæque mensque †.*

* It is observable, says Philip de Cominès, that all men whoever became great or performed great actions, began very young, and this is owing to education, or else the grace of God, lib. i. cap. 10. at the end.

† Lucret. lib. iii. ver. 452.

When

When once the body's shaken by Time's rage,
The blood and vigour ebbing into age,
No more the mind its former strength displays,
But ev'ry sense perceptibly decays.

Sometimes the body first submits to age, sometimes the soul; and I have seen some, whose brains have failed them, and had a weakness before their stomach and legs: and as it is a disease of no great pain to the patient, and of obscure symptoms, the greater is the danger. For this reason, I disapprove of our laws, not that they keep us too long to our work, but that they set us at work too late. For the frailty of life considered, and to how many common and natural shocks it is exposed, methinks we should not spend so great a part of it in squabbles about birth-right, in idleness, and in education.

A COMPLETE
INDEX
OF THE MOST
REMARKABLE MATTERS
CONTAINED IN THE FIRST BOOK.

A

A Bundance distasteful and clogging	Page 335
Accidents, fatal, how easily borne by some people	313
Achaïans abhorred fraud in war	25
Acquaintance, domestic	220
Actions of former ages	267
of princes examined after their decease	12
that men should covet to perform	306
virtuous, now unknown	266
Adder, a song on	248
Ælius Verus's answer to his wife who reproached him for his amours	
with other women	230
Æmilius Lepidus, his death	75
Regillus could not restrain his soldiers from plunder	28
Æschylus his death	74
Affectation unbecoming a courtier	194
Affection of a father towards his children	156
Affections, human, extended beyond our existence	11
Age, and its last effects	411
fit for managing an estate	412
dispensing gentlemen from the fatigues of war	346
of adult	413
capable of great actions	346
Agefilaus how clad	262
battle with the Bœotians	346
Albigenses chose to be burnt alive rather than recant	302
Alcibiades, his constitution	186
Alexander VI. pope, poisoned	255
(the Great) son of Jupiter	331
his cruelty	5
why he refused to fight by night	29
not afraid to swallow a dose of poison	135
blamed by Philip, his father, for singing at a feast	292
his deep sleep	342
his noble answer to Polypercon	29
	Alex-

I N D E X.

Alexander's horse	Page 364
sweat	396
Alphonfus, king, why he thought asses happier than kings	336
Amasis king of Egypt's marriage to a fair Greek, whom at first he had not power to enjoy	97
Ambassadors detected in a falsehood	39, 40
sometimes conceal from their masters what they think fit	60
of Samos	190
employment not limited	61
Ambition, enemy to society	274
of Cicero and Pliny	289
unworthy	288
Americans, their compliment to Ferdinand Cortez	232
in what sense the savages are barbarians	243
the excellency of their police	239
their buildings and beds	239, 240
their diet and pastimes	240
where they lodge the soul after death	241
their wars and weapons	242
why they eat their prisoners	ibid.
their priests and prophets	241
their moderation, cordiality, and use of victory	244
their jealousy of their wives	247
their undaunted behaviour when prisoners	244
their love songs	248
their language	ibid.
Amyot's translation of Plutarch commended	349
Anacreon, his death by a grape-stone	74
Ancient history, how far respectable	125
Animals that live but a day	85
Anacharsis, his notion of government	338
Anger, its extravagance and impotence	23
Answer of the duke of Florence's fool	262
Antigonus the son of the sun	331
Antonius defeated	204
Appetites of several sorts	386
of men irresolute and fickle	391
Arcefilaus's gold and silver vessels	282
Archileonida refuses the praise given to her son	323
Architect's laconic speech to the Athenians	191
Architects language	387
Aretine despised by Montaigne	388
Aristippus's answer to an argument for loving his children	210
Ariston's definition of rhetoric	385
Aristophanes' criticism on the style of Epicurus	194
Aristotle's method of instructing Alexander the Great	182
Armenia, its mountains	264
Arms, coats of, uncertain	350
Arrius nothing to be concluded against him from the nature of his death	252
	Arms

I N D E X.

Arms of value inflame the soldier's courage	Page 355
of value increase the enemy's resolution with the hope of rich spoil	ibid.
Army expecting an enemy	359
Armies of the Turks support themselves cheap	370
Arras, the obstinacy of its inhabitants	299
Arrius, nothing to be concluded against him from the manner of his death	252
Artes wiped with a sponge	376
Artibius, a Persian gentleman, killed by his horse	363
Affyrians, how they managed their war horses	370
Athenians folly and injustice	19
Atlantis island	234
Avarice, the cause of it	314
Aufidius's death	74
Augustus's revenge on Neptune after a storm	23
his affliction for the loss of some legions	ibid.
discovery of Cinna's conspiracy against him	130
his speech to Cinna, and pardon of him	131
what he got by that act of clemency	132
Auroy, battle of	270
Authors, advice to them	237

B.

B Anquet of Plato	183, 184
Barbarians, who are those that are called by that name	243
Barbarism, what it is taken for	237
Barbarity against men's lives	243
Bargaining hated by Montaigne	315
Bathory, Sigismund, king of Poland's cloathing	263
Battle fought on foot by cavalry	364
at sea gained against the Turks	252
Baths used by the ancients before dinner	375
Bawdy-houses of several sorts	112
Bayard, captain, of great courage	16, 351
Beauty sought after by women in defiance of pain	310
Beauvais, bishop of, his conduct at the battle of Bouvines	324, 325
Bebius a judge, remarkable particular of his death	75
Beds made use of to lie on at meals	375
Beggars in shirts in the depth of winter	261, 262
Belief should be neither too easy nor too stiff	201
Betis's obstinacy punished by Alexander	5
Bias's remarkable sayings	274
Bion the philosopher's remarkable sayings	22
Blindness cured by St. Stephen's shrine	205
Blosius's declaration of friendship	215, 216
Boddice of the ladies	310
Bodies perfumed	375
when young ought to be bent	186
Boetius's voluntary servitude	172

I N D E X.

Boetius, his friendship for Montaigne and his writings	Page 207, 205
Book employment painful	283
Borromeo, cardinal, his austere way of living	31
Bouvines, battle of	324
Bows carrying long arrows	366
Breath sweet	396
Brevity, so agreeable to men of understanding, censured	173
Brother's name	210
Brotherly love neglected	ibid.
Brutes subject to the force of imagination	102
Bucephalus, Alexander's horse	364
Buchanan	197
Buffoons to make sport at meals	377
Burial much overvalued by the Athenians	19

C.

C æsar's lamentation of Pompey's death, whether sincere	270
why he was called king Nicomede's Sponda	379
saying to a decrepid old foldier	83
the measures he took to gain the love of his enemies	138,
marched generally bareheaded before his army	139
marched generally bareheaded before his army	262
Cæsar and Pompey good horsemen	363
Cæsar's horse	364
Caligula's demolition of a fine palace, because it had been his mother's prison	22
Calisthenes, how he lost the favour of Alexander	186
Cannibals marry many wives	247
Cannon shot unavoidable	50
Canopy of state allowed but in palaces and taverns	392
Capilupus a famous composer of centos	160
Capuchins continency	265
Carneades over studious	183
Carthaginians confounded by a panic	65
Castalio, the learned, died of want	259
Cato the younger's death	267
Cato's banter on Cicero	191
praise, and the various opinions about his death,	268, 365
sound sleep, just before a popular commotion	343
parsimony	389
age and suicide	411
Catulus Luctatius, why he fled in battle	323
Centos, a particular species of poetry	160
Chabrias lost the fruits of a victory to take care of the dead bodies of his friends	19
Charles Vth's character of the French officers and soldiers	60
Charles VIII. king of France, how he made so hasty a progress in Italy	156
how he was saved in battle by his horse	363
Chastity valued in marriage	112
an amiable virtue	119
	Chear-

I N D E X.

Chearfulness a sign of wisdom	Page 179
Chefs, idle and childish game	382
Children whipt to death	116
in France that are hopeful, do not answer	183
spoiled with delicacy	185
ought not to be suddenly awaked from their sleep	197
the importance of giving them early correction	109
difficulty of guessing by their first actions what they will be hereafter	161
they should not be trained up by their parents	167
they ought to mind every thing that passes	171
when they should be instructed in the sciences	177
how their breeding may be discovered	180, 181
capable of attending lectures of philosophy	183
ought not to be compelled to study by severity	184
ought not to be humoured in any singularity, but to be habituated early to all manner of customs	185
their progress must be estimated by their actions	188
Christian religion, needs no events to authorize it	251
Chrysippus's writings	158
his ambition	289
Cicero, why he published his familiar epistles	290
why he made one of his slaves free	294
his eloquence derided by Cato	291
his affectation of eloquence	294
Cinna's conspiracy against Augustus	130
Cypus how he came to be hornified	93
Civility too formal, blameable	53
Claudius, emperor's licence for f— t—g	100
Cleomenes's perfidy	28
his answer to the Samian ambassadors	190, 191
Clodomius, king of Aquitaine, his life lost by his obstinate pur- suit of his routed enemy	356
Clothes unknown to many nations	261
Coition, detersion after it	376
Collation betwixt meals	377
Command whether better than obedience	333
Commotions how to be appeased	137
Company of ill men dangerous	275
Composers of centos	159, 160
Compositions that smell of oil and the lamp	42
Confidence that gains the heart, must be fearless of another man's virtue	320
Conjugal love to be admired	230
Conrade III. his reconciliation to Guelph	2
Conspiracies whether they are best prevented by execution of the plotters	35
Constancy of some old men, women and children	232
Constancy in affliction	278
Constitution of several sorts	187
Contempt of riches	319
Continency in marriage	229

I N D E X:

Conversation with the world	Page 166, 173
Copulation of a husband with his wife already with child, forbidden	229
Correction of the male children designed to the fathers, and that of the females to the mothers	134
Correction of school-boys censured	184
Cortez, Fernando, compliment paid to him by the Americans	233
Collicius's wife, turned into a man	93
Covetousness, from whence it proceeds	314
Councils depend upon fortune	361
Courage, reputation, and glory, as magnificent in the cabinet as the camp	136
Courtesy and manners	53
Cowardice, how to be punished	55, 56
Crassus, how he punished an engineer for not following his direction	61
Crates's answer to one who asked him how long it was his duty to philosophise	143
Creatures esteemed by their proper qualities	326
Credulity a mark of simplicity	201
Cretans, imprecation against those they hated	117
reduced to drink the urine of horses	370
Cruelties to children at colleges	185
horrid examples	232, 242, 272
Cuckoldom, not frightful to many people	313
Curiosity with which youth ought to be inspired	171
Custom stupifies our senses	107
of several nations in marriages	112, 113
power of	106, 117
fundamental reason for many things	119
of wearing cloaths	260
Cyrus lashed at school, and for what	154
great master of horsemanship	370
his reverence for religion	17

D.

D Arius's proposal to the Greeks and Indians	118
Death discharges men of all obligations	30
Death the day that judges of all the foregoing years	67
regular of three most execrable persons	68
unavoidable	72
end of our race	ibid.
a harsh word to the Romans	73
hath many ways to surprise men	74, 75
remembrance of, profitable to men	77, 78, 80
the best	80
image of, presented by the Ægyptians to the company after their feasts	77
contempt of, certain foundation of religion	84
part of the constitution of the universe	85
cannot concern us either living or dead	88
Death,	

I N D E X.

Death, image of, less dreadful in battle, than in bed	Page 90
preferred to a continual trouble	140
what it is, several opinions concerning the same	297
prevented or hastened	298
shameful, endured with great courage	ibid.
constantly looked in the face, is voluntarily sought after	302
frightful to some people, bantered by others	303, 298
how felt	304
Dead men dealt with as being alive	14
bodies boiled, pounded, and drank with wine	113
Deceit and cunning in war hated by the Achaians	25
and cunning allowed in war	ibid.
ought to be corrected in the greenest years	109
Defeats, some more meritorious than victories	246
Demades's sentence upon an undertaker of funerals	105
Democracy	19, 117
Democritus's laughing countenance	383
Denisot the poet, the anagram of his name	351
Dependance upon princes	170, 171
Deserters punished with death by the Romans	56
Desire of gathering riches has no limits	317
Devotion mixed with an execrable life	401
of the heathens	405
Dexterity of a man throwing a grain of millet through the eye of a needle	392
Diagoras's saying to those who shewed him the pictures of such as had escaped a shipwreck	48
Difference betwixt man and man	326
Dioclesian's retirement to a private life	338
Diodorus the logician's sudden death	11
Diogenes's opinion concerning men	147, 383
why he studied philosophy	188
how he behaved in the want of money	218
Dionysius, the tyrant's barbarity	4
how he discovered conspiracies against him	139, 318
Diomedon when condemned, prayed for his judges	19
Dioscorides, island of, the inhabitants thereof Christians	405
Discourse pleasant and witty	221
Disease of the mind	277
Diseases of the mind and body cured with pain and grief	231
Distempers contracted by mere imagination	101
Diversion allowed to youth	184, 185
Diviners punished when found false	241
Divinity and philosophy dictate in every thing	228
queen and regent	406
Doublets, belly-pieces as high as the breast	374
Dreux, battle of,	345
Drugs, fragrant, mixed for sauces	398
Dying, resolution of, how it ought to be digested	82
in the nick of time	255
with a voluntary resolution	298
of old age very rare	411

I N D E X.

E.

E DICT of January famous by the civil wars	Page 208
Education of children the greatest difficulty of human science	160, 161
Education of the author	196, 197
Edward the Black Prince	1
I. king of England, why he required his son to carry his bones to fight the Scots	15
III. king of England, why he would not send succours to his son at the battle of Cressy	323
Effects, the same, produced by two opposite causes	393
Egyptians skulls, why harder than the Persians	262
Eloquence, its effects, and when it flourished most at Rome	385, 386
of the Athenians, Lacedæmonians and Cretans	195
Emanuel the king of Portugal's cruel edict against the Jews	301
Emperors obnoxious to passions	330
Empire of Constantinople, by whom founded	256
Employments for a sedentary life	283
for a retired life	284
Enemy vanquished, whether to be pursued to extremity	354
Engines of Dionysius's invention	368
made by Archimedes	143
Enmity suppressed by pity	2
Enquiry, office of, projected	259
Enterprizes military	134
Epaminondas's noble defence against an accusation by the Thebans	3
Ephori, one of them cut the strings of music	122
Epicurus's writings free from quotations	158
Erasmus, a remarkable passage in his book called <i>Lingua</i>	40
Erection how hindered	94
Errors of opinions	394
Escalin, Anthony, not so much known by that name	352
his extraordinary rise	ibid.
Essays, their language	293
Esteem not due to bad princes	13
European nations, wit and politeness of	351
Events in war, for the most part, depend upon fortune	361
Evil, what it is, how it enters men	297
Eumenes's notable answer to Antigonus	26
Excess, even in lawful pleasures, to be condemned	231
Exercise fit for youth	184
wherein men are to proceed to the utmost limits of pleasure	286
Extremes hurtful to virtue	226

F.

F Aintness from frigidity	393
Faith of military men very uncertain	27
Families of obscure extraction, the most proper for falsification	349
Farting	

I N D E X.

Farting to some tune	Page 99
emperor Claudius's license for it	100
Fashion of cloaths, why to be followed by men of sense	121
of some nations of going naked	260
inconstancy of	374
of the French court, rules the whole kingdom	340
Fathers not concerned at the death of their children	312
Fear, the strongest of all passions	62
of an ensign, and another gentleman	63
nails and fetters men	ibid.
throws men upon valiant despair	ibid.
in its trouble, exceeds all other accidents	64
is more insupportable than death itself	ibid.
Feast of Paulus Æmilius	397
Feeding upon human flesh	115
Feet performing the service of hands	110
Felicity of men's lives depends upon the tranquillity of their spirits	67
Fighting with rapier and cloak	374
Fire sent for a new-year's gift	113
Firmness of a prince riding a rough horse	373
Fish kept in lower rooms	377
pre-eminence over flesh	ibid.
Flight in war granted by several nations	49
Floods, strange alterations caused by	234
Foix, counts de, their writings	160
Fondness and pernicious education by mothers	167
Fools never content	12
Fool of the duke of Florence, his wife answer to his master	262
Formularies of faith established by the ancients	405
Fortitude, what it is	49
Fortune has a great share in many arts	133
its inconstancy	255
often coincides with reason	ibid.
sometimes seems to play upon men	ibid.
playing the physician	256
doth what art cannot do	257
corrects the counsels of men	ibid.
surpasses the rules of prudence	258
its benefits, how they ought to be relished	331
Foundation of Notre Dame la grande de Poitiers	348
France, Antarctic, where Velegaignon landed	233
Francisco Taverna, how placed by king Francis	38
Francis I. king of France, caught an ambassador in a lye	39
why he chose to wait for Charles V. to attack him in his	
own dominions	359
marquis of Saluces, his treachery to the king of France	45
duke of Brittany, what learning he thought enough for a	
wife	151
Franget, M. governor, punished for cowardice	57
French wisdom early, but of no continuance	183
manners and customs	373

French, what the American savages thought of them	Page 249
gentleman's incredible bravery	1
nation, very changeable in fashions	374
Friendship, the most perfect benefit of society	209
incompatible with some connections	ibid.
against nature	202
of several kinds	209
begot by voluntary liberty	210
its true character	214
true and perfect	215
common and ordinary	216
allows community of goods	217
rare example of	218
perfect, admits no division	219
dissolves all obligations	ibid.
Friendships are scarce	220
Frosts, sharp, at the mouth of the lake Mæotis	203
Fruits eaten after dinner	376
Fulk, count of Anjou's, journey to Jerusalem, to be lashed	312
Funerals, an undertaker of, condemned by Demades	105
not to be too magnificent, nor too mean	17
Futility, care and foresight of it	11, 12

G.

G allo, why recalled to Rome from exile	231
Gallus Vibius, how he became a madman	92
Gascons, their remarkable horses	368
Gauls had missile arms in abomination	367
Generals changing their habit upon the point of an engagement	357
richly clothed in a battle	358
obscurely armed in war	ibid.
Gentlemen's duty towards those that come to visit them	52
Geta, emperor, his dishes served up to table alphabetically	347
Gifts prohibited between man and wife	218
Gilippus, undeserving of the character of a great man	358
Giraldus Lilius, his death	259
Glasquin, Bertrand, how honoured after his death	14
his different names	351
Glory, vain, and curiosity, scourges of the mind	207, 322
Glory and repose, inconsistent	287
God's name ought not to be taken in vain	400
Golden age	238
Good and evil	38
Good, not one of a thousand	274
Good men free from all injuries	278
Goods of fortune despised	282
equally evil to the unjust	332
Government, Anacharis's notion of it	338
Governor of a place, how he ought to behave himself in the time of a siege	26
	Gover-

I N D E X.

Governor of a child, how he should behave	Page 162, 163, &c.
not to be praised for common actions	292
Gournay, Mademoiselle, why she called herself Montaigne's daughter	210
Grammarians language	388
Gracians, happier and wiser than the Romans	195
their famous retreat from Babylon	264
Great men ought to hide their faults	335
Greek and Latin may be bought cheaper than it is commonly taught by tricks	195 197
Grief, excessive, the cause of sudden death	8
Guienne, college, where Montaigne was bred	200
Guise, duke of, his conduct at the battle of Dreux	345
Guevara's letters, their character	369
Gypsies wash their children, so soon as they are born	308

H.

H AIRS pull'd off in great sorrow	22
Hairs suffered to grow on one side, and shaved on the other	115
Hairs pinched off	375
Halbert managed by the twist of a boy's neck	110
Hannibal's answer to Antiochus, when he asked him how the Romans would like his army	356
Happiness of men not to be estimated before they are dead, &c.	65
Head uncovered in the presence of the gods	263
Heads naked in all seasons	ibid.
of the Ægyptians harder than those of the Persians	262
Heliogabalus's death	252
Henry VII. king of England's treachery to the duke of Suffolk	30
VIII. king of England, caught an ambassador in an error	40
Heraclitus's face and humour	383
excuse for passing his time with boys	143
Heresies animated by disputes	405
Herodotus's mason	31
notion of the polar inhabitants,	344
Hieron's notion of kings and kingly power	334, 335
St. Hilary's prayer to God for the death of his wife and daughter	254
Historian, the qualities requisite in him	236
the importance of knowing his profession	59
History, the benefit of that study to youth	171
Homer criticised by Montaigne	231
had but one servant	389
Honour and glory not communicable	322, &c.
of a victory	323
Horse of king Charles	363
Horses of the Massilians	369
of service, called destriers	362
trained up to help their riders	ibid.
of the Mamalukes	363
and arms taken from conquered nations	365
	Horses

Horses fettered in the stable	Page 370
of Scythia	ibid.
of Sweden	368
valued as much as men	370
of the Gascons	368
unbridled in a battle	371
embowelled to creep into their bellies	372
feeding upon serpents	ibid.
clipped to be led in triumph	ibid.
Horsemanship	ibid.
Horsemen, when they ought to alight	365
fighting	ibid.
Houses where all things lay open	115
Humour contrary	260
Humours gathered in men's bodies	271
Husbandry, a servile employment	283

I.

J ason Phereus, how cured of an imposthume	256
Idleness, its pernicious consequences	33
Jest of a man that was going to be hanged	298
Jews tortured to make them change their religion	300
Ignatius and his son, their deaths	258
Ignorance and wisdom have the same effect	393
of several sorts	394
Imagination had the same effect as a glyster,	100, 101
other effects of it	91, 92, &c.
of women big with child	103
of beasts in the time of copulation	ibid.
Immortality refused by Chiron, and why	90
Imposture, its subject	250
Impotencies of lovers	10
Impurity odious to God	400, &c.
Incense and perfumes used in churches	398
Indathyrsis (king's) answer to Darius, when he reproached him for retiring always before him	50
Indians worshipping the sun	251
eating dead bodies	118
riding upon oxen	371
Indigence accompanies riches as well as poverty	316
Industry (frivolous) deservedly rewarded	392
Innovations in a state dangerous,	122, &c. 345
Inquiring into matters and things useful to know	171, &c.
Insolence hereditary	116
Intention, men's actions to be judged by it	30
Interview of two kings	52
Invocation of the name of God in all our actions	399, &c.
Journal kept by Montaigne's father, of his family affairs	260
Joy excessive unexpected, its bad effect	10
and serenity of mind, that is constant, a proof of wisdom	178
Irenæus's death	252
	Ischo-

I N D E X.

Ischolas's overthrow more glorious than a victory	Page 246
Island discovered by the Carthaginians	226
Judgment proper for all subjects	380
Julian, the emperor, his punishments of his soldiers for cowardice,	56, 57
not affected by the praise of his courtiers	337
Julius Cæsar's way of speaking	194
saying	389
Ivry, battle of	358
Justice ought not to be bought	120

K.

K ings, how to be treated after their decease	12
Kings, what they ought to value themselves upon	292
Kings subject to the same passions and accidents as other men	329
may render wealth and luxury contemptible to their subjects	340
good and bad, have equal reverence	337
painful duty	334
in a worse condition than private men, for the fruition of pleasure	ibid.
prisoners to the limits of their dominions	335
in a worse condition than asses	336
Kissing a mark of respect	376
Kitchens portable	377
Knowing consists in knowledge of the present	145
Knowledge by rote no knowledge	166
of what shall come to pass	43, 44, &c.
much commended	145, 146
of great men in the head of those that attend them, and their libraries	146
must be our own	ibid.
without judgment defective	148—190
of effects	154
how difficultly attained to	202
of ourselves	12—382
of the stars, a foolish study	176

L.

L acedæmonian youth, their constancy	309
Lacedæmonians victory by flight	50
ceremony at the interment of their kings	13
discipline	153, 154
chivalry	188
answer to Antipater, when he demanded fifty of their children for hostages	155
Ladies holding their hands to receive their king's spittle	111
in the baths	378
Language of essays	292
Laodicea, the fair Greek, married to king Amasis	97
Laughing and crying at the same time	270
Laws	

Laws of Conscience, from whence derived	Page 116
received, ought not to be altered	122
changed in urging necessity	127
of honour opposed to those of justice	121
Lawyers the fourth state in a government	120
Leagues and confederations	220
Learned men, why contemptible	144
Learning must be incorporated into the mind	150
not much required in women	151
desired for profit sake	ibid.
despised by the Lacedæmonian youth	153
fit for children	154
its chief use	162, 163
whether absolutely necessary	146, 151
character of pretenders to it	148
Led horse to change in a battle	362
Leo (pope's) death	252
Leonidas's defeat preferable to the most glorious victory	246
Lesson ought to be measured to the scholars capacity	164
Lessons more profitable in practice than theory	187
Letters published by Cicero and Pliny, to what end	290
of ceremony, and offers of service	294, 295
of favour and recommendation	295
with qualities and titles	296
of this age	ibid.
Lettre-ferits, the word defined	148
Livia's counsel to Augustus, upon Cinna's conspiracy	131
Liberal sciences	175
Libraries, what preserved them from fire, when the Goths ravaged Greece	155, 156
Lice cracked with the teeth	114, 115
Life in itself neither good nor bad	86
of men compared to the assembly of the Olymic games	175
its uncertainty	315, 316
more precious than riches	253
Ligatures wherewith erection is hindered	94
Lipsius's politics	160
Livy's history	172
Loadstone, its virtue	268
Lombards horses that would wheel about in a gallop	368
Lords of France called roytelets, by Cæsar	336
St. Louis, his severe treatment of himself through devotion	311
Love, conjugal, attended with respect	2 & 229
for want of a legitimate object, creates to himself a frivolous and false one	30
songs of American savages	248
unnatural, how to be cured	119
its definition	212
to women	211
ends in friendship	219
restrained by divinity	227
	Lucullus

I N D E X.

Lucullus made a great general, by learning	Page 147
Lycon, the philosopher's direction for his funeral	18
Lycurgus forbid the Lacedæmonians to strip their vanquished enemies	357
Lyars ought to have a good memory	36
Lying, a cursed vice	37, &c.

M.

M Adam, a title given to women of great quality	392
Magnanimity in adversity	3
Mameluke's horses	363
Mamartines city, how treated by Pompey	4, 5
Man, his true duty	12
his real merit and superiority over others	245
to how many crosses he is liable before death	67, 84
what renders him easy or uneasy	329
his imperfection demonstrated from his inconstancy	389
at what age he is capable of displaying his ability	413
his sovereign good	390
disabled from erection, how cured	95
a variable creature	4
yard's indocile liberty	98
how animated	99
Marius's sound sleep	344
Marriage, a contract	212
Married people, how they ought to behave themselves on the wedding-night	98
Marseilles magistracy	122
Matrimonial pleasures	228, 229
Meats served up by course, according to the first letters of the meats themselves	347
Members of generation	313
Memory, a goddess	35, 36
liable to a weak judgment	35
Men most miserable creatures	230
eaters	233, 244, &c.
ought to be esteemed by what is their own	329, 330
absolute monarchs of themselves	ibid.
Mercy of a prince towards a conspirator	129
Mexican king's greatness	232
Milk of mares, esteemed an excellent drink among the Tartars	371
Mind pliable of itself	271
its disease	278
Moderation necessary in all things	252, &c.
Modesty of Maximilian	16
Monarchy	117
Money kept with more trouble than got	317
Monied men covetous	318
Montaigne's modesty	156
education, in Latin and Greek	195, 196, &c.
father's oeconomical government	260
poetical talent	269
	Montaigne's

I N D E X.

Montaigne's epistolary style	Page 295, &c.
the hurry in which he wrote	ibid.
coat of arms	350
style, in speaking and writing	193, 194
inducement for writing his Essays	34
complaint of a bad memory	ibid.
aversion to compliments and ceremony	52, 295
the use he made of conversation	57
the precise time of birth	73
early premeditation of death	78
why he refused to write the history of his own time,	104, 105
early aversion to tricking and shuffling at play	109
flock of learning, and his favourite authors	156
how he used to be waked out of his sleep	35
early taste for reading	198
and for acting parts in tragedies	200
taste for poetry	268, &c.
in what he placed the merit of his Essays	292, 395
Mourning in white	380
Mule, or mulet, much valued	369
Muretus, a great orator	198
Muscovy, tributary to the Tartars	371
Musick of the spheres	107
Mysteries of the Christian religion	404

N.

N aked men, who go so for devotion sake	261
Names, some disliked, others fatally affected to the genealogy of princes	346
Names of an easy pronunciation	347
of the ancient noblesse	348
going before, without signification of grandeur	378
the confusion there is in taking them from lordships	349, 350
Nations that sleep and wake by half years	344
Nature, her image	174
Nature's pre-eminence, the art	237, 238
her course	411
Necessity's limits	175
prompts to violent resolutions	355
Nero's cruelty to his mother	272
the bold answer he had from two soldiers, who had conspired against him	13
Nimbleness of two men at Constantinople	373
Niobe, stupified first, and then petrified	8
Nobility and blood	142, 143
Nose, blowing it betwixt the fingers, defended	111
Novelty begets ruin	122
of fatal consequence to young men	341
Numidian soldiers, why they had a led horse, besides what they rode upon	362
Obedience	

I N D E X.

O.

O bedience due to kings	Page 12
dearer to a superior, than any utility whatsoever	60
to magistracy	124
Obstinacy, where most to be seen	170
Odours, with the relish of meats	398
Oeconomy a heavy burthen	319
Offices distinguished by titles too glaring	388
Oil distributed by Hannibal to his soldiers in frosty weather	264
Old age rarely attainable	411
Opinion espoused to the expence of life	300
gives weight and value to things	313
concerning good and evil	296
Oracles ceased before the coming of Jesus Christ	43
Orosius, historian	311
Otho, the emperor's sleep before his suicide	342
Ovid's Metamorphoses.	198

P.

P ædagogues ridiculed	189
Pain, the worst evil	303
Pain principally feared in death	305
suffered with impatience	306
of child-bearing, by whom easily supported	308
endured with obstinacy	309
voluntarily, endured to get credit	ibid.
Painter's craft, in representing the sacrifice of Iphigenia	7, 8
Painting	133
Palate science, pleasantly bantered	386
Paris, the stench of its mud	399
Parleys, time of, dangerous	27
Parthians performed all they had to do on horseback	364
Pascicles, the immodesty of that philosopher	376
Passion, missing its object, recoils on the subject	21
makes objects to itself	ibid.
Passions of the soul have no pleasure in external conveniences	332, 333
the wisest men not blameable for, being overcome by the	52
first starts of them	100
Patient, the confidence he ought to have in his physician	100
Paulinus, bishop of Nola, his prayer, after that city was taken,	278
and his house plundered	278
Paulus Æmilius's feast	387
Pausanias, his destruction by his mother	226
Peasants and philosophers	394
Pedants despised	140
Pedant's pleasant answer	189
true character	148
Peers, ecclesiastical, obliged to assist the king in war	324
Pegu, its inhabitants always go barefooted	262
Penitence requires penance	31
Pet-	Pct.

I N D E X

	Page
Perfumes, exotic, create a suspicion	396
Perseverance, its good effects	1
Persians, how they instructed their children	152
Persian kings, how long they kept their wives at their feasts	229
Perturbations, how far allowed by the Stoics, to their philosophers	51
Phalarica, what sort of arms	366
Pharax stops the king of Lacedæmon, from his pursuit of a routed corps	356
Pharsalia, battle of	358
Philopemen, why commended by Plutarch	128
Philosopher, whether it is consistent with him to write history	104
Philosopher's great thirst for fame	322
Philosophers despised, and why	141
Philosophy consists in practice	187
and its study	69
what it is, according to Cicero and Plato	69, 166
rules human actions	175
despised with men of understanding	177
to be taught to children	180
formatrix of judgment and manners	189
Physic, the art despised	132
Phyton's great courage, under the cruelty of Dionysius	4
Pity reputed a vice among the Stoics	3
Place not defensible by the rules of war	54
of honour amongst the ancients	378
Plato, a true philosopher	187
surnamed divine	388
his notion of the credenda, injurious to the gods	400
his banquet	183
his great precept	12
misunderstood by Montaigne, in a certain passage	46
his reprimand of a boy, for playing with dice	108
the rank in which he placed human benefits	318
how many servants he kept	389
Plays may be acted by princes	201
of children	108
Pleasure, the aim and fruit of virtue	70
Pleasures wheedle and caress to strangle	285
Plenty and indigence depend upon opinion	328
Pliny's judgment	204
ambition	289
the younger, his advice, as to solitude, unjustly criticised	284,
	290
why he published his Epistles	ibid.
Plutarch's Lives	171, 172
elegy	ibid.
Poetry, and its effects	157
recommended to youth	186
above rules and reason	268
of an odd taste	391
of several sorts	395
gay	224, 225
	Poets

I N D E X.

Poets and rhimers, 192. Lyric, 181. In greater number than judges of poetry,	268
Poetic raptures, or fallies	133
Pol, Peter, the odd figure he always made on horseback	368
Poles wound themselves, to give a sanction to their word	311
Pompey's soldiers reproached by Cæsar	355
pardons a whole city on the account of one man's virtue	4
head presented to Cæsar	270
Poor in the midst of riches	316
Portuguese cruelty	242
Possession of money, a trouble	317
Posthumius, the dictator, whether he put his son to death	227
Potedæa, battle of	266
Poverty, what in it to be feared, 305. Sought after,	314
Praises of great men, 290. Rejected,	323
Prayer, dictated to us from God himself, to be used by us always	399
how abused	410
Prayers vain and ineffectual	400, 401, 407
religious, reconciling of ourselves to God, cannot enter into an impure soul	ibid.
Preparation for death necessary	79
Princes advantage, as common with men of mean condition, 337. Ceremony at their interview, 53. Ought to despise silks and gold, 339. Not punishable for injustice, when living, should after suffer, in reputation, 12. That are too mistrustful, very unhappy, 135. Whether a prince had best wait to be invaded by an enemy, or to go forth and attack him upon his own ground,	359—361
Prisoners, how used by the Barbarians	242
constant resolution	247
Production of all things	238
Profit of one man, a loss to another	105
Prognostication, vain and superstitious	43
abolished by the Christian religion	44
Prophets and priests punished for their false sayings	241
Protogenes, the painter, made the true likeness by mere chance, which he could not effect by art	257
Psalms of David, indiscreet use of them interdicted	403
Psammenitus, king of Egypt, unmoved in the extremity of sorrow	7
Pyrrhus's head presented to Antigonus	270
his disguise in a battle	338
what he said when he saw the Roman army	233
Pythagoras's answer to a prince, who asked him what science he professed	188
diverted a company of rakes from plunder, by the power of music	348

Q.

Quintilian's objection to the use of rods in schools	185
Quintin, St. battle of	354

I N D E X;

R.

R Ashness in judgment	202
Reason, human	111
Recommendation, from whence it should proceed	392
Recreation fit for youth	184
Reggio, city of, taken by Dionysius	4
Regulus's parsimony	388
Relics of St. Hilary, Gervase, and Protasius	205
Repentance, what it consists in	402
Repose and glory, things that are incompatible	287
Reproaches against the enemy, allowed in a siege	357
Reputation, of wicked princes, should suffer after death, 12. Solicited, 322. Abandoned	323
Resolution and perseverance, their usefulness	1, 49
Retirement, the constitutions fittest for it	281
what are the essentials of it	287
Revenge against inanimated creatures, 22. Of a king, against God, 23. Of Augustus, against Neptune, <i>ibid.</i> Of the Thracians against heaven	<i>ibid.</i>
Rhetoric, a deceitful, useless, and pernicious art	384, 385
Rich man, who is he	314
Riches, contempt of, 116. Accumulated by prudence, 316. How to avoid the trouble of them	319
Riding, good for the stomach	364
Rivers obnoxious to changes	235
Romans, their manner of fighting duels, 374. Their effeminacy, 375. Their luxury, 376. Their sponges, baths, ice-wines, and fish-pools, 375 to 378. Their way of complimenting their great men, 376, 378. Their custom of paying their watermen, 379. What side of the bed their wives lay on: the ladies manner of drinking or rather dashing their wines, and their colour of mourning,	<i>ibid.</i>
Royalty, the meaning of the word at Ephesus	143
challenges respect, not the king	337

S.

S abinus, a Roman, who thought himself learned, because he kept learned men in pay	146
Sabinus's wife's private delivery of twins	308
Sacrifices of human bodies	232
Saddle horses, or pads, despised by the Swedes	368
Salisbury, William earl of, taken at the battle of Bouvines	325
Sallads, according to their seasons	386
Samos, ambassadors of	190
Sancho, king of Navarre, surnamed Trembling	393
Satisfaction after death, of no avail	31
Savages, American, in what sense barbarians	238
answer made by one of them to Montaigne	249
their policy and climate, manners and customs	239 to 250
	Sauces

I N D E X.

Sauces	386
Scanderbég, how his fury was appeased by a soldier who had provoked him	2
Scævola's constancy	309
Scepter a heavy burthen, king Seleucus's opinion of it	333
Schools and classes	184
Schoolmasters, how ought to behave themselves in teaching their scholars	ibid.
Science of a marvellous use, 162. What the noblest, 154.	Steril, 286
Scipio's confidence in a Barbarian, and his intrepidity	136
great acts, due in part to Lælius	324
the reputation he acquired by his death	68
Scripture, sacred, whether they ought to be translated and put into the hands of the vulgar	404
Scythians excuse, for declining a battle	50
drank the blood of their horses	370
Seleucus, king, the little account he made of royalty	333
Self-murder	232
Seneca's extraordinary advice to a friend, about life	253
Senses, judge of pain	304
Sentiments of beasts, free and natural	307
Servitude voluntary	208
Severity of the colleges	185
enemy to education	ibid.
Severus Cassius spoke best extempore	42
Shame, excessive, has been the cause of death	11
Silence and modesty, their advantage in conversation	169
Silk cloaths when out of fashion in France	340
Sincerity ought to be inculcated to children	170
Sire, of that title	392
Sirname of great to princes	388
Sirnames glorious amongst the ancients, debased by the moderns	ibid.
Slings	367
Smell good and bad, 396. Simple and natural	397
Snows, storms of, in Armenia	264
used to cool wine	377
Society of bad men unfortunate	275
Socrates's dæmon, 48. Answer to Crito, 18. Opinion of the duty, both of young and old	281
Soldiers, whether they should be richly armed, 356. Whether they should be allowed to insult a vanquished enemy, 357. Their faith not to be depended on	28
Solitary life, preferred to a voluptuous one	253
Solitude, what it is, 274, 276. To whom it is most becoming, 280, 281. Sought after on the account of devotion, 285. Obnoxious to miscarriages, 288. The end proposed by it, 275.	
What employment best suits it	283
Solon, remarks on his character of the happy man	14, 65
Song, martial, by an American savage	247
Sophocles died with joy	10
censured for his praise of a fine youth	230

I N D E X.

Sorrow called by the Italians furliness, 6. A contemptible passion, ibid. Strikes men dumb and dead	7, 8, 9
Soul has not settled limits, 33. Looking upon things several ways, 273. Variable into all sorts of forms, 307. The sole cause of her own happy or unhappy condition, 320. Discovered in all its motions, 381: Colours things as she pleases	231
Spartans, why they did not reward a citizen of bravery	266
Speaking, fine	195
Speech fit for pleaders and preachers	41
Speusippus, whether he died in the act of adultery	75
Spiders, for a long time the food of a maid	107
Sports and pastimes profitable to society	201
Sponge used instead of bum-fodder	376
Statilius, why he refused to be a plotter against Cæsar	384
Stephen, St. his shrine cured blindness	301
Stilpo's constancy under the worst of misfortunes	273
Stoic's state, 51. Did allow to feed upon carcases	243
Stratagems in war contrary to the elder senator's practice	24
Study excessive, damps courage and other efforts of the mind, to 155. Its advantages	141 165, 166
Subjection real and effectual	356
Submission mollifies the heart	1
Subtilties of logic abuses	181
Suit of arms wore under a religious habit	312
Superior, what he most expects from his inferiors	60
Surprizes in war	29
Suspicion in a prince fatal	135
Swift soldiers wives	308
Swooning a cause of it	94
Swords the best weapons	366
Sylla and Marius's wars	355

T.

T ABLE, the most honourable place at it among the Romans	378
Table-talk, who the best companion in it	221
Tables distinguished by the names of the guests	347
men chuse to talk of other people's affairs, rather than their own	58
Tages, author of the art of divination in Tuscany	47
Talva, M. Juventius, died of joy	10
Teachers, how they should be paid	148
Temerity, very absurd	206
Terence's comedies	290
Terez, king of Thrace, his passion for war	313
Ternate, island, how war is declared there	25
Terror panic	64
Thales compared to the fox, who said the grapes were sour	143
the reason he assigned for not marrying	314
Theano's saying of the woman that goes to bed to her husband	97
Thebanæ	

I N D E X.

Thebans nonsuited by the noble spirit of Epaminondas	3
Thebes, city, cruelty of Alexander at	8
Theology has nothing to do with the other sciences	406
Theophilus, emperor, defeated and forced by one of his generals to fly against his will	63
Theopompus king of Sparta's compliment to his subjects	324
Thracians shot arrows towards the sky when it thundered	27
their king, how distinguished from his people	329
Thurian's order against new laws	122
Timoleon's lamentation for his brother	273, 274
escape from assassination	260
Timon, man-hater	383
Title pages of books censured	296
Travelling very instructive to youth	166
Troubles of this life	276
Trees buried in winter	264
Truth and reason common to all	165
Turks made themselves scars in honour of their mistresses	311
armies subsist cheap	370
Turnebus's character	149
Tutor	162
Tyranny defined	335
Tyrant, advised how to guard against plots	139

V.

V Alour covetous of danger, 306. And its bounds, 54. Of a man wherein it consists	247
Vices take root in childhood, and ought to be early corrected	108
Victors bewail the death of the conquered	270
Victory ought not to be stolen, 29. Chief aim of a general, and of every private soldier, 345. Not duly improved, 245, 354. Not allowed to him that did ask for a dead body to be returned to him for interment, 14. In what it consists	244, 245
Victories fairly gotten	ibid.
Virgins forced to their husbands bed	271
Virtue aims at pleasure, 70. Ennobled by difficulties, 66. Its greatest benefit, ibid. Its character and situation, and how it should be represented to youth, 179. Enemy to anxiety and sorrow, ibid. Its value, and true employment, 180. The nursing-mother of all human pleasures, ibid. Satisfied with herself, 279. Embraced with too violent desire becomes vicious	225
Uncertainty and mutability of human things	65
Understanding, its power and use	303
Understandings of several sorts	394
Urine of a horse drank	370

W.

W AR, Barbarians custom of commencing it	75
Wars proclaimed by the tolling of a bell	ibid.
Waterman's fare, how paid by the Romans	379
Weapons	

I N D E X.

Weapons formerly used in war	366, &c.
Whipping of boys at school censured	184, 185
Wicked, society with them fatal	275
Will, the effects thereof not always in our power irregular and disobedient	31 99
Wine frozen, cut with hatchets in winter-time dashed	263 379
Winsberg. in Upper Bavaria, besieged	2
Wise man, in what regard he differs from the fool his country, may live every where content	51 173 275
men ought to do every thing for themselves	384
Wisdom's acquiescency	11
Wisdom and ignorance	393
Wits of many degrees, 326, 394. Envious,	267
Wool perfumed privately made use of	376
Woman turned into a man, 93. That goes to bed to a man, must put off her modesty with her petticoat, 97. Fancying she had swallowed a pin, 101. Causes her face to be slead for a better skin,	310
Women not very fit to treat of theological affairs, 408. Incapable of a perfect love, 212. Burned alive with the corpse of their husbands, 299. Succeeding to peerages, 324. Masked and painted, 385. And children excluded from enquiring into the laws, 405. That go to the wars	112
Words of men, their only tie on one another, 37. Obliging, 293. Affected and finely spoken,	192, 193
World, a looking-glass and book	174

X.

X enophanes the philosopher	48
Xenophon a great captain and a philosopher	28
Xerxes, seized both with joy and sorrow, at the sight of his vast army, 273. His impotent anger	22

Y.

Y outh, see Children. Must be accustomed to labour and hard- ship, 167. Its debauchery and excess, 184. Of quality, should be instructed in things, rather than words, 189. Ought to despise sophistry	192
--	-----

Z.

Z aleucus's laws against women's sumptuous luxury	340
Zeal immoderate governed with moderation and prudence	226 404
Zeno's disciples	195
Zenobia, a rare instance of conjugal continency	229
Zisca, general, a drum formed of his skin	15

F I N I S.

